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The Week

AS it would have been necessary in any event to call an extra session of the new Congress, the President has done well to make the date early. This will give ample time to pass the appropriation bills which failed, before the expiration of the fiscal year; and Congress will also be at hand, as it should be, to pass upon the grave questions which may arise affecting peace or war. There was never any doubt that Mr. Wilson, as he is bound to do, would consult Congress before taking any irrevocable step. He already had obtained the moral support of both houses for his policy of armed neutrality, and his announcement now that he has the power, and intends to use it, to take measures for the defence of our merchant marine, can be called usurpation by no fair-minded man. The plan to arm our merchantmen, and possibly to give them naval convoy, is not to be thought of as a complete averting of the submarine peril. It may even intensify it. But in taking this resolution, President Wilson unquestionably has the approval of the great majority of his countrymen.

IN the new Senate party lines are almost unaltered, the Republican gains in Indiana, Maine, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, and West Virginia being very nearly offset by Democratic accessions in Delaware, New Mexico, Rhode Island, Utah, and Wyoming. The Democrats number 54, the Republicans 42. Just one-sixth of the Senators will be new, the States having reëlected exactly half of the 32 members whose terms were expiring. These were divided almost equally between the two parties, and the Democrats reelected 9 of their 17, the Republicans paying the same compliment to 7 of their 15. The most conspicuous of these recruits is the redoubtable Hiram Johnson, of the famous State of California, but perhaps the ablest one has seen service before—Senator Knox. Other prominent figures among those appearing for the first time are Kellogg, of Minnesota, and New, of Indiana. Calder, of New York, is among those who have become known by service in the House. Frelinghuysen, until he supplies a better reason for public attention to him, will be looked upon chiefly as the man who defeated Martine. Only three of the filibustering eleven will not be back: Clapp, Works, and O'Gorman. No less than 32 States will have no change in their Senators.

"WE still wish," declares the semi-official organ of the German Government, "to avoid war with the United States." That fact has jumped in the face ever since February 3 and Count Bernstorff's dismissal. Both the German authorities and the German people have been acting as if they sought in every way possible to avoid the consequences of the immense miscalculation of the German Government. Yet warnings were not lacking. A German newspaper printed on December 31 an unsigned letter from New York which said that "the sinking of passenger ships without warning is impossible without producing serious conflicts." And the writer added: "In the last few days I have had verbal messages from Germany, and I am horrified that the true American situation should still not be realized." He also predicted that the President would send home the German Ambassador. But in Berlin they thought they knew better! So they plumped for an unrestricted use of submarines, with the result that the promises made of swift success with that weapon are failing, while the Food Controller in Prussia admits the suffering and growing discontent of the people. He declares that the unwillingness to endure the accumulating hardships is "deplorable," but confesses that "this is human nature." Now, we thought that the German General Staff had long since decided that human nature was a negligible quantity.

WHILE Americans may find a contradiction between Bethmann-Hollweg's professions of friendship and the secret instructions to array Mexico and Japan against us, he was, after all, acting on the principles laid down by Bismarck. That master of statecraft never allowed his personal feeling to interfere with what he conceived to be the "interest" of the state. This Bismarck often expressed in his Memoirs, but never more clearly than in a letter to the Prussian General von Gerlach, dated May 11, 1857, in which he wrote: "My ideal for one at the helm of foreign politics is freedom from prejudice and promptness of decision, regardless of any feeling of antipathy to or preference for foreign states and their rulers. As regards other countries, I have throughout my life had sympathy only for England and her people, and I am at times not yet wholly free from it; but the English themselves will not let me love them, and as soon as it were proved to me that it is in the interest of a sound and well-thought-out Prussian policy to do so, I should be willing to see, with equal satisfaction, our troops fire on Frenchmen, Russians, Englishmen, or Austrians." But Bismarck had a hearty contempt for puny diplomats whose blunders were found out, though he never cared if his own blazing indiscretions saw the light of day. When after the battle of Sedan a letter of his to his wife was intercepted and published in facsimile by the *Figaro*, he simply said: "I was more fortunate than many others whose letters were intercepted; I could afford to have mine made public." But, then, *quod licet Jovi non licet bovi.*

THE probable effect on military operations of the scarcity of food which all the belligerents are facing to-day will be to hasten in both camps the desire for a decisive stroke. If conditions in Germany are really what the speeches in the Prussian Diet indicate, then it is manifest that von Hindenburg cannot sit still and wait for the U-boats to starve out England. He must find a quicker way. And there is the added argument that people engaged on a great enterprise may forget their hunger pains. Church bells ringing victory, even if it is empty victory, will not in the long run replace bread, but they help to keep up a nation's fortitude in the dreary contest upon which Europe now seems to have entered, watching who will starve first. And if in such a contest the Allies have the better chances, their own privations will be severe enough

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to lend emphasis to the demand for a quick end to the war by resolute action.

WHEN the Nationalists in the House of Commons shouted "turncoat" at Lloyd George they were not thinking of the Home Rule bill as planned three years ago by a Government of which Lloyd George was a member, but of the high hopes raised by Lloyd George himself when he went to Ireland as investigator and mediator after the Dublin uprising. At that time it seemed as if, under the awe of the Dublin blood-letting and the stimulus of the war, the hereditary feud between Ulster and Catholic Ireland might be composed. There was the dramatic handshake on the floor of the Commons between John Redmond and Sir Edward Carson. The present Premier was himself cheerful as to the outcome. But the era of good feeling did not last long. Overnight almost the scheme of reconciliation was wrecked by Lords Lansdowne and Selborne, and Asquith was accused not only of betrayal by the Nationalists, but of weakness of purpose by Liberal opinion in England. What was shown in the debate on Thursday of last week is that Ulster resistance is so resolute that in the midst of war the Government dare not resort to coercion. The hopes of a reconciliation after the Dublin uprising must be abandoned, and Nationalist Ireland must be content with the measure of self-government contemplated at the time of the enactment of the original Home Rule bill.

ON the technical side, the present status of Home Rule is complicated. The original act itself does not provide for the exclusion of Ulster. That was to be established in an amending bill which provided for a temporary exclusion of five years. The amending bill was not enacted at the outbreak of the war, but Asquith was pledged not to use coercion against Ulster. If, therefore, the suspension of the Home Rule act should be removed, the Nationalists could argue that technically Ulster was included; but such was not the intention of Parliament three years ago. There may be force in Healy's cynical remark that John Redmond and his followers pretended to be angrier than they really were, but the situation is one that England cannot contemplate with satisfaction. Mr. Asquith realized the implications of the problem when he suggested a renewed study of the problem by representatives of the Dominions now in England. It was another way of saying that in the British colonies, and outside of the Empire among neutrals whose good-will England values, the persistence of strife and hatred in Ireland creates a painful impression. And it may well be that the pressure of such opinion standing outside of local animosities could be made a force for bringing both sides in Ireland to their senses.

AT first sight, the passing of Carranza from the position of First Chief of the Revolution to the office of constitutional President would be a mere play of words. Of a popular and decisive election in our sense there was, of course, no question in Mexico on Sunday. Yet the event takes on reality from the fact that it signalizes a great change in the life of the Mexican people. Despite the difficulties that beset the path of the new President, it is no longer to be denied that the revolution in Mexico has been successful. The spade-work begun by Francisco Madero in November, 1910, has been completed. The task for which Madero was found not strong enough has fallen into the hands of a man to whose dour strength the American people, not without a rueful grimace, can bear testimony. Yet for all the irritations and alarms Carranza has caused us, it is certain that the American people wish him and his country well. Much of his strength, indeed, was derived from the fervent sympathy of our own people for the democratic cause he represented, from a sense of fair play and forbearance which makes a splendid page in the history of our country. If this has been the sentiment of the American people in face of the fact that real democracy is still to come in Mexico, of the fact that Carranza is as much the "strong man" as Don Porfirio was in his day, the reason has been that in Carranza we hope to see authority directed towards the upbuilding of democracy and not to its suppression.

THE announcement that the legislative leaders have abandoned the Meyer bill, providing compulsory military training in camps in New York State for all citizens between eighteen and twenty-three, is surely a gratifying sign of returning calmness of judgment. The reason given is that the proposed scheme is too costly. But there are plenty of other reasons for going slowly, even from the militarist point of view. Thus, if Federal universal service comes, the States will naturally abandon any private scheme of training in favor of the national one. Again, in the present crisis State camps would be of no avail; if war is coming, any State scheme for drilling would merely complicate matters and cause confusion. When the world-war is over there will be time enough to discuss questions like this in cold blood. The passage of the Welsh-Slater bill by the Legislature is also encouraging, for it brings under compulsory training all boys at work instead of exempting them as heretofore and conscripting all boys whose fathers are able to support them between the ages of sixteen and nineteen. More than that, it permits the substitution of vocational for military training, which will be heartily welcomed by the Quakers and others opposed to bearing arms on religious and conscientious grounds. It will be interesting to see whether this military training will have the same result as in Massachusetts, of giving boys a distaste for subsequent military service, and whether it will be well done or be the kind of farcical drilling given in the Massachusetts public schools.

AGAIN the effort is made to enforce the anti-Trust laws by individual criminal indictments. So long as the Sherman act was uncertain, the few personal prosecutions by the Government were bound to fail. But it is now argued that the recent decisions of the courts and the passage of the Clayton act have destroyed the excuse of ignorance. If there is positive proof that an illegal conspiracy was knowingly participated in, whereby the coal companies have been enabled to defraud the public of $38,000,000, there will be general approval of any sentence that may be passed on the guilty men. It has been the feeling of disproportion between the crime and the punishment which hitherto has nullified the criminal features of the law. Gentlemen's agreements, verbal understandings, accepted trade ethics, and practices of follow-the-leader have been so common that it is difficult to draw a sharp line of criminality. Nevertheless, these new prosecutions should certainly make business men more chary about raising prices unduly and by agreement.

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IN some respects the new revenue law is a natural sequence to the financial policy which has been becoming more and more evident during the last few years. It emphasizes the movement to find new sources of taxation, made necessary by the increasing expenditures of Government. And it extends the policy begun even under President Taft of placing greater reliance on direct forms of taxation. This is in line with European methods. Customs duties are notoriously fluctuating. As a mainstay of the Government income they have failed us again and again. On the other hand, they have at times yielded such large surpluses that the Government was at a loss to get rid of them, and yielded to all kinds of extravagance. Direct taxes, on the other hand, are susceptible of much closer calculation. A glance at British revenue and expenditures will bring out the surprising accuracy with which they are estimated. In this country, however, they involve one difficulty in the possible double tapping of State and Federal sources of taxation. This involves a certain injustice. It appears to necessitate a considerable alteration of policy on the part of the States. Whether it should not also lead to a lowering of the exemption of incomes, is another question. The high exemption was originally justified on the ground that taxes on expenditure fell most heavily on small and moderate incomes. This would seem less true under the new régime. Discussion of the law will centre upon the excess profits and inheritance taxes. Profits in excess of 8 per cent. of invested capital, and a $5,000 exemption, are to be taxed at the rate of 8 per cent. Putting aside for the moment the perplexities of estimating the capital, it is clear that the tax by itself will not discourage initiative. More to be feared is the incentive to evasion. Indeed, in view of the vague phrasing of the law, this may be confidently expected.

IT has been said that this tax on excess profits is a tax on the North and not on the South. Representative Kitchin almost boasted that such was the fact. Undoubtedly the North will pay the larger proportion of the tax, yet it would seem that Southern corporations, if they have, as asserted, a higher rate of capitalization, would proportionately to their wealth be even more subject to the "surplus" feature. The tax is extended beyond corporations—a tax on the franchise—to include partnerships. It is not clear why individuals should be excluded. As it stands it appears to be a tax on coöperation. It has been suggested that an individual could escape the tax by hiring his partners. But the main difficulty lies in the definition of "invested capital." This includes cash paid in, cash value of assets at the time they were transferred to the business, and "paid-in or earned surplus." Borrowed money, and bonds, are excluded. Ordinarily, capital values are determined by the earnings. But this imposes a new method. For several years the Interstate Commerce Commission has been at work estimating the capital value of railways. The figures will not be ready for three more years at least. How, then, are the cash values of all corporations and partnerships to be arrived at? We shall undoubtedly have a series of rulings from the Treasury Department that will arbitrarily explain these terms. But we do not envy the officials upon whom this duty devolves.

AMONG the decisions handed down by the Supreme Court on Tuesday of last week, two have a bearing on foreign relations and international law. One of them declared void the clause in the Tariff act giving a rebate of 5 per cent. on goods imported in American bottoms. This, the Court held, was in clear violation of our treaties with several nations. There is no surprise about this. The certainty that the Supreme Court would upset the provision was plainly brought out at the time of its adoption. But Congress decided to "take a chance," so as to be able to say proudly and if but temporarily that it had tried to "do something" for American shipping. The other case is that of the Appam, the German prize brought into Hampton Roads. By a unanimous decision the Court directed that the ship should be turned back to her British owners, as the attempted use of our ports was warranted neither by our treaty with Prussia nor by the law of nations. The appeal from the lower court had been powerfully argued in behalf of the German claimants, but the judges were all of one mind against them. Doubtless the full text of the decision, when it is published, will serve as a useful and authoritative interpretation of the Prussian treaty, as well as an exposition of the laws of neutrality as they bear on prizes captured.

SOME thirty-five States and Territories are affected by the decisions of the Supreme Court upholding the Workmen's Compensation acts of New York, Iowa, and Washington—decisions unanimous except in the case of the last State. They give at least presumptive validity to nearly the whole body of such legislation, for the three cases have tested the whole type. The Iowa statute is optional, as are the statutes of the majority of States having them. The New York statute is compulsory, as are also the laws of Ohio, California, Maryland, Oklahoma, and some other States. The Washington act is compulsory, and contains the radical feature of refusing to permit of compensation through funds established by insurance companies or cooperative associations of employers — there is a single State fund. The laws have been attacked on various grounds, and attacked searchingly. It was charged that New York's, for example, imposed an unconstitutional burden on interstate commerce, failed to limit awards for accidents traceable to the employees' negligence, and violated the "due process" and "equal protection of the laws" clauses of the Federal Constitution. In upholding them the Supreme Court reaffirms the judgment of some State Supreme Courts—*e. g.*, Michigan's in 1915—that workmen's compensation laws, if drawn with simple care, are in no way repugnant to the Constitution. The Supreme Court has left their position as unassailable as that of State eight-hour laws.

ANNOUNCEMENT that the chiefs of the Brotherhoods have notified the President that no strike or threat of a strike will be allowed to embarrass the Government in its international position runs counter to the assertion of Mr. Debs. That worthy has drawn a lurid picture of what will happen to the industries of this country if those whom he presumes to represent do not get what they want when they want it, no matter what effect their action may have upon the effort of the Government to uphold its sovereign rights upon the high seas. This disparity is unfortunate —for Mr. Debs. The incident is an interesting bit of evidence about the change in the feeling of responsibility—not to call it patriotism—which has come over the leadership of the railway men since 1894.

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The American Way

TWO events at Washington come as fresh illustrations of the method by which we in this country get reforms in our public life. We refer to the virtually unanimous agreement of the Senate to adopt a rule to put an end to unreasonable and filibustering debate, and to the announcement that President Wilson will soon, by Executive Order, put postmasters of all grades under the merit system. Here we have two inveterate evils. They have been cried upon for years. Efforts to eradicate the abuses have been made time out of mind, yet nothing seemed to be done, and the outlook appeared hopeless. Then suddenly, in a day, the aims long pursued are attained. The avalanche slips. The labor of a generation comes to fruition.

In the case of the rule providing for a limited closure in the Senate, there was the special impetus of a crisis and of a nation indignant. The old arguments for a change acquired a startling validity. They had long been resisted or scoffed at. Their predictions were derided. It was stoutly affirmed that there never could be real danger of a paralysis of the Senate. But Sunday before last revealed to the country, as by a lightning flash, the peril and the ignominy—nine-tenths of the Senate unable to record its will because one-tenth tyrannically forbade—and there instantly rose such a wave of popular resentment and demand that the Senate was swept into a reform which it had steadily withstood and which seemed impossible of attainment. The new rule is certainly most guarded. It does not endanger a single legitimate right of a minority. Only, in an emergency, and after due notice, it is provided that two-thirds of the Senate may end debate and cause the question to be put. There is nothing revolutionary about this. The new rule will seldom be invoked—perhaps not twice in a session. But it will be in reserve against a day when a new threat may be made to reduce the Senate to impotence—and then it can be used. As one of the journals that have advocated this moderate and sensible reform, the *Nation* cannot but hail its advent.

And when they read that at last post offices are to be no longer political spoils, what can civil-service reformers say, who have borne the heat and burden of the day, except that it is wonderful in their eyes? The decision to appoint even Presidential postmasters only after a competitive examination, and to name the head of the eligible list without regard to political backing, has been slow in coming. It is the culminating step. Various Presidents have covered into the protected class various grades of postmasters. But the Presidential offices were the sticking point. Last year, both Mr. Wilson and Mr. Hughes declared themselves in favor of bringing this class under the rules. The thing was attempted by legislation, but the House of Representatives would not have it. Congressmen profess to be much troubled over the distribution of the spoils of office, and to say that they would like to be freed from it, but in their hearts they love it. This was made clear by the way in which the House rallied to the support of Chairman Moon in his opposition to the plan of bringing about the reform by legislation. But now the President is to effect it by Executive Order, and this great citadel of the spoilsmen, so stubbornly defended, is finally captured.

What the change will mean in our politics and in the conduct of Government business, it will take time fully to realize. One element of fence-fixing and of subtle bribery will be removed. Nominations will not be made or elections won by auctioning off the post offices in the "deestrict." Congressmen will have to find some other way of paying their political debts than by urging unfit postmasters upon the President. And with competence now put first in the list of qualifications, and an assured tenure during good behavior, the opportunity and the motive for improving the administration of the postal service throughout the land will be immensely greater than that which existed before.

This slow and creeping American way of improving public life is not to the taste of many impatient spirits. They want reform to come in a hurricane. Their desire is for a millennium brought in overnight. Well, all that we can say is that this is not the fashion in which Americans do such things. Another style might be better; certainly would be more spectacular; but our tradition is as has been stated. With us evils have to come to a head before the head is cut off.

The British at Bagdad

STRATEGIC and moral advantages of far-reaching importance follow upon the notable British success in Mesopotamia. The outstanding fact is that of the two main Turkish armies in Asia, one has been completely shattered. Nothing else will explain the precipitate retreat from Kut-el-Amara, a distance of nearly one hundred miles, in just two weeks, and the failure to make even a serious rear-guard defence of Bagdad itself. The effect must soon be felt in the position of the largest Turkish army of all, the one that has been facing the Russians in Armenia and in Persia. In the latter region the signs of collapse are already evident. The Russians, who for nearly a year have been on the defensive two hundred miles inside the Persian frontier, are now advancing upon Bagdad even more rapidly than the British march, by the ancient caravan road through Kermanshah. A serious Turkish defence of this road is impossible, because it would place the Ottoman forces squarely between the advancing enemy and the British at Bagdad, with resultant disaster. And though it is probable that the British themselves must take breath after their rush up the Tigris, the development that can now be foreseen is either a junction between British and Russians, or else such close coöperation between the two as to force the Turks entirely out of the vast region between the Tigris and the northern lakes, Urumiah in Persia and Van in Armenia.

That the British advance will stop at Bagdad is not likely. For one thing there is the mere human impulse of following up a thoroughly beaten enemy, an opportunity such as only Russia among the Allies has enjoyed, and that during the first months of the war. Another and soberer reason is the fulfilment of the strategic plan mentioned, the expulsion of the Turks westward of the line from Trebizond, on the Black Sea, to the Tigris. From what the British have accomplished hitherto we may form a fair estimate of what they are likely to attempt and attain in the near future. Bagdad lies 240 miles north of Bussorah, at the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates, which has been the British base from the beginning. Mosul lies 220 miles north of Bagdad. The river south of Bagdad has presented greater difficulties than the higher reaches of the Tigris

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are likely to show, both for geographical reasons and because of the opposition of a formidable Turkish army. The 220 miles from Bagdad to Mosul are navigable for small steam craft and present fewer obstacles in the way of shifting river channels, swamp lands, and the canal networks which made coöperation in the lower Mesopotamia region so arduous. If the problem of communications grows more difficult as the British move away from their base near the Persian Gulf, the problem is simplified by these factors and by the further consideration that the lines have nothing more to fear from organized enemy attacks.

Mosul, on the upper Tigris, is the point where the Bagdad Railway, coming across the desert from the Euphrates and Aleppo in Syria, strikes the Tigris. As to the completion of this railway there has been much speculation. At the outbreak of the war it had been carried eastward as far as Europos, on the Euphrates, three hundred miles across country from Mosul. Since then the railway has been described as in various stages of completion, some carrying it all the way to Mosul, even down the river towards Bagdad. Where Turkey found the men and means for such an achievement in the midst of war was not clear, but German resourcefulness and determination have been supposed equal to the emergency. To-day it seems very probable that the Bagdad Railway is far from completed. Otherwise Turkish reinforcements would have appeared to stay the rout on the Tigris and save Bagdad. If, on the other hand, the railway is there, the situation would indicate a shortage of troops which must facilitate the task of the Allies. We may take it that Mosul has been the centre of operations both for Mesopotamia and for Armenia. The city now lies equally distant from the Russian line in the Van region and from the British line at Bagdad. A simultaneous advance from both directions would place the Turks at Mosul in peril.

The moral effects of the Mesopotamian advance are bound to be considerable, in the Mohammedan world, even if we refrain from exaggerated estimates of the Pan-Islamic danger. The sacred cities and historic capitals of Islam are being lost. Mecca has proclaimed itself an independent kingdom. The British are not very far from Jerusalem. Bagdad, the ancient seat of the Abbasides, is gone. Such difficulties as the British have had to encounter from fanatic tribesmen in southern Arabia and in the Libyan region must diminish with the reassertion of British prestige in the East. But in non-Islamic Berlin, too, the impression of Bagdad will not be missed. The vision of Teutonic power stretching from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf grows more visionary than ever. Berlin-Bagdad has been deprived of important terminal facilities.

Upon the war situation as a whole the Allied progress in Asiatic Turkey is bound to be of high consequence. It would be an acceptance of Germany's challenge to decide the fact of victory from the war map. If we imagine the Allied campaign in Asia carried to the point where the British from the Tigris join hands with the Russians from Armenia, it means that there will have been lopped off from Turkey an enormous sector nearly one thousand miles long from the Black Sea to the Persian Gulf and from one hundred to two hundred miles wide. It means that the Entente will be able to enter a peace conference with 150,000 square miles of enemy territory—not counting the German colonies—to match against Germany's European conquests.

Some One Had Blundered

THERE is blame enough for all in the report on the Dardanelles by the commission of which the late Lord Cromer was the head. Kitchener, as the most dominant figure in the War Council, appears most heavily at fault. He first lent his sanction to the plan as it originated in the fertile brain of Winston Churchill. He then frustrated its purpose by an unwarrantable delay in supplying the troops needed. Mr. Asquith was at fault in submitting unduly to the authority of Kitchener. It certainly is extraordinary that for nearly two months after the naval bombardment of the Dardanelles on March 18, 1915, there should have been no meeting of the War Council, and that the disembarkation of troops did not begin till more than five weeks after that bombardment had served notice of the British intentions. Churchill was at fault in going against the views of his technical advisers, Lord Fisher and Sir Arthur Wilson. And the latter two erred because they sat silent in council while measures of which they disapproved were being enacted. But in the case of all save Kitchener there is the excuse that they sinned out of deference to the principle of responsibility. Fisher and Wilson did not feel called upon to speak in council, once their views were known to their superior, Churchill. The latter in turn was justified by the support of Kitchener. The Premier assumed that his specialists were doing their best. Altogether it appears a case of excessive self-sufficiency on the part of Kitchener, who took no advice from his General Staff and offered no information to his colleagues on the War Council.

But this explanation of Kitchener's mistakes may not be the only one. The commission declares that at one stage in the proceedings Kitchener was asked if there were troops available for the Dardanelles expedition and replied that there were none; whereas if the War Council had taken the pains to investigate "it would have been ascertained that sufficient troops were available." The suggested reason is that the Secretary of War had taken on himself more work than any one man could cope with, and as a result was ill-informed as to what was really going on in his department. But was Kitchener really concerned at that stage of the war with counting the men in the army, or did he believe that for the time being the important business was simply to raise men without stopping to count them? In other words, at that time, was Kitchener primarily concerned with strategy or with the chief task of creating an army? More than once we have referred to the almost feverish appeals for men and more men that were coming from Kitchener at a time when, as we now know, recruits were pouring in by the hundreds of thousands. Was that, too, a case of bad arithmetic, or part of a deliberate plan? It is still open to us to believe that there was a method in Kitchener's madness. He had made up his mind that the war would be long, and that if England won the war it would be by thorough preparation. That is why he kept asking for more and more men without stopping to count. And that may be the reason why he was haughty with the General Staff and taciturn with the Cabinet on questions of the moment.

Whatever may be the just apportionment of blame, the fact remains that Gallipoli was a tragedy of errors, into which a multitude of complex factors entered. And in

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this there is material for reflection for those in every country who so lightheartedly shout for war and for the suppression of those who hesitate about war. Gallipoli gives us a concrete illustration of what war means in the way of entrusting the lives and fortunes of multitudes to any group of fallible men. They may err through pride, or selfish interests, or excess of zeal, or inarticulateness, or indifference; or they may err bravely, honestly. But the price of their mistakes is the 200,000 British casualties at the Dardanelles. It is true not only of England. A German investigation into the battle of the Marne would probably show that the failure of a mighty hope was owing to the same tangle of pitifully human causes—haste, delay, over-confidence, timidity, personal motive, and plain ignorance. An investigation into the reasons for the Russian defeats in East Prussia would bring out the additional and sinister factor of treason on the part of field commanders and Ministers of War. Gallipoli, the Marne, and East Prussia drive home the bitter fact that war is a game in which the players are, after all, only ordinary men, and the pawns are human millions and nations.

War, to be sure, does not differ in this respect from any other form of human activity. War is unimaginable without leadership, and where there is leadership there is the chance of error registered in the price paid by those who take orders. But precisely because war puts such tremendous power for woe in the hands of the leaders, it is well to keep in mind that this power is not being wielded by omnipotent wisdom. That is the wrong of our own militarists, who are busy with their censorship bills for the suppression of criticism. The peril we are asked to contemplate is that of a group of ignorant editors and platform orators interfering with the perfect functioning of the infallible military mind. Plainly, it would take a good many editors and other representatives of the "mob" to work as much mischief as the British leaders who sat in council on the Dardanelles, or the war council that decided upon von Kluck's swing away from Paris, or, going back to beginnings, the council at Berlin that decided upon the invasion of Belgium. In France, where the democracy of the spirit is strong, they have discarded the doctrine of professional infallibility, and parliamentary committees of large membership have taken a direct hand in the conduct of the war, with results which no one questions. In England the suggestion of similar parliamentary commissions has been discussed, and the revelations of Gallipoli may bring the question to the front.

Zeppelin and His Achievement

COUNT ZEPPELIN was a standing refutation of the charge that a man's constructive genius fades with fifty. He was a lieutenant-general fifty-two years old when he gave up a brilliant military career in order to devote himself to the mad theory he stuck to despite ridicule unending—that aerial navigation could be solved by means of a great dirigible balloon. As a German military attaché with the Federal forces in 1863-65, Count Zeppelin had proved himself a daring officer, and what he learned of the cavalry tactics of Sheridan, Stuart, Mosby, and others was doubtless responsible for a military achievement of his—a daring cavalry reconnaissance in force, in the war of 1870-71, which first won him national renown. But when it came to his aerial theories, people avoided him as a crank, and in the years of experimenting which followed he gradually sacrificed not only his own very considerable patrimony, but all the money he could obtain from confiding friends and relatives. For years it seemed a crazy quest. As late as 1900 people viewed his experiments skeptically, and concluded that, though it began to look as if the technical difficulties in the way could possibly be surmounted, the cost of such airships seemed an insuperable obstacle.

Six years later the remaining difficulties had been overcome, and all Germany was thrilled by the proved success of the inventor, who was then in his sixty-eighth year. Yet many mishaps occurred after that. In the winter of 1908 he built his fourth aircraft, in which he made two memorable voyages, one of twelve hours from Lake Constance to Zürich and return, and one from Friedrichshafen to Strassburg, Mainz, and Stuttgart, ending with another disaster and the destruction of the vessel at Echterdingen. Here the German people came to his rescue, and by a national collection easily raised in the popular enthusiasm for his epoch-making achievement, made it possible for him to continue. No less than $1,540,000 was subscribed, and the Government itself aided thereafter liberally in the belief that a new war-weapon of extraordinary power had been developed, of especial value to a fleet at sea. From that time on Count Zeppelin was Germany's greatest national hero, until Hindenburg supplanted him.

It is the fashion, now that war has come, to speak of the utter failure of the Zeppelin, and the statement is even made that it was a realization of this failure which hastened the inventor's end. That is a mistake. The Zeppelin has been a disappointment as a war-weapon in that its value as an air-scout has been surpassed by the cheap and quickly constructed airplane, which costs only two lives if it falls or is shot down. As a raider, too, the usefulness of the great Zeppelin dirigible seems largely to have gone, in view of the effective defence now built up against it in both London and Paris. To avoid anti-aircraft guns the Zeppelin must fly so high as to make careful aiming impossible—which is also the difficulty with the heavier-than-air machine. Still, to have carried out forty-eight raids on British territory is a most extraordinary achievement, even though it may have cost some six or seven Zeppelins. Meanwhile, every one must rejoice that so inhumane and undiscriminating a weapon of war has not only virtually failed but shocked humanity by the evidence that its victims are more often innocent women and children than soldiers. Had the Zeppelins appeared over London in the first week of the war they might have done great damage, for a few months earlier a British officer had pointed out in a service publication that there was not a single anti-aircraft gun mounted in London, and that a Zeppelin flying low could demolish the War Office and the Admiralty and absolutely paralyze the British army and navy, since there were no duplicate records anywhere else and no one would have known the next morning where the units of the army were stationed! When war came Germany had at least eight commercial and naval Zeppelins, and the failure to send them to England immediately after the declaration of hostilities is one of the many things that the General Staff must explain when peace comes.

But if the Zeppelin has been 90 per cent. a failure as a war-craft, it must not be forgotten that Count Zeppelin's

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chief hope for it was as a commercial venture. His greatest ambition was to fly across the Atlantic, and what pleased him most was that some of his commercial ships made as many as 500 voyages each without accident, without loss of life, and with amazing regularity of schedule. His hopes surely lay along pacific rather than warlike lines. But here, too, there are great problems. For, though the Zeppelins have little trouble in the air, and weather great storms better and better as their motor-power increases, it is difficult for them to make a landing. In Germany there are always plenty of soldiers on hand to catch the ropes, but when hovering over the ground in a heavy wind the situation is always a precarious one, for even if the landing is at the entrance to one of their great sheds, the task of getting them into it is tremendous. Most of those lost in Germany have been wrecked in landing. When it is remembered that these vessels are now said to be 700 feet long—the older ones ranged from 450 to 500 feet—the man-power needed to control them when not in motion is vast indeed. Still there must be large hopes that the Count's remarkable discovery, achieved by such amazing pertinacity and courage in the face of discouragements likely to daunt the stoutest heart, will yet be worked out so that the transatlantic air-liner will become a great and useful and civilizing achievement of human genius.

Trustees and College Teaching

THAT the formal resolution of the Columbia trustees to inquire, by a committee of their own body, "into the state of teaching in the University," was exceedingly distasteful to the faculty has been made abundantly manifest. It must have been distasteful to President Butler also. For he is on record, by both precept and example, against all petty spying upon professors, or interference with legitimate academic freedom. Only the other day he stated the general principle admirably. A member of the faculty had been complained of to Dr. Butler for saying foolish things in public. But the head of Columbia replied that, in these matters, we have to take the bitter with the sweet. If we allow a man liberty to speak his honest thought, we can't exact from him a guarantee that he will never say anything to displease or offend. Committed to this view as President Butler is, we do not see how he can fail to be mortified by the action of the trustees.

And the president of Columbia has himself been for years past a living vindication of academic free speech. On all subjects interesting to the public he has allowed his mind to play freely. Party politics, peace and war, as well as education, have been themes for his discourse. And he has never been afraid of being misunderstood. He has said things in public which might easily have been twisted to his hurt. Before a miscellaneous audience he once whimsically contended that university presidents are, and in the nature of the case must be, untruthful, and welcomed Chancellor Brown to the Associated Liars. Not all who heard him may have appreciated the humor of this as keenly as did the speaker, but he gayly took the chance. A solemn Columbia trustee might have considered the jest very dangerous fooling; might have desired to appoint a committee to see what sort of "doctrine" President Butler was "disseminating"; but he himself had no doubt of his entire right *desipere in loco* if he wanted to. We are convinced that he must be wholly out of sympathy with the attempt to cause the feeling among Columbia professors that whatever they say will be, as the police warn prisoners, "used against them," and their every phrase examined under a microscope.

The particular line of detective work in the classrooms which the clerk of the trustees is instructed to undertake is truly mystifying. "To inquire and ascertain whether doctrines which are subversive of, or tend to the violation or disregard of [oh, these legal draughtsmen!], the Constitution or laws of the United States, or of the State of New York, or which tend to encourage a spirit of disloyalty to the Government of the United States, or the principles upon which it is founded, are taught or disseminated by officers of the University." If anything like that can be produced in all our American academic annals, we should like to see it. But it is the cumbrous absurdity of the whole that must most impress everybody. How is the investigating committee to go to work? Will it draw up a formidable questionnaire for all the professors, and then make them take an oath to "preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States"? Perhaps it will be enough to station the clerk of the trustees near the lecturer's chair. How could there be "disloyalty" in the awful presence of the clerk? It is, we make no doubt, fear of "the spirit of disloyalty" which chiefly moved the Columbia trustees. They shiver at the name and the thing as Mistress Quickly did at swaggerers. "I'll no swaggerers . . . I am the worse when one says swagger; feel, masters, how I shake." So a Columbia trustee trembles at the very word "disloyal."

Sensible people will take it for granted that this unprecedented and clumsy effort to discover traitors in the Columbia faculty will go no further. If it does not fall under the weight of honest resentment, it surely will under that of ridicule. Should the trustees persist in their unexampled inquisition, however, they may expect the turn about which is fair play. The faculty might appoint a committee to investigate *them*. The instructions would be to "inquire and ascertain" whether the trustees were not suffering from a bad case of nerves, accompanied by symptoms which alarmed all their friends.

Chili and the World War

AT the outbreak of the war Chili suffered severely; her saltpetre industry was injured; her currency fluctuated abnormally; the currents of trade flowing to and from her ports were disturbed and deflected. But during the past six or seven months a great change has occurred. In the main, Chili has overcome the effects of the war and promises to learn profitable lessons from her trying experiences. This promise of better times is in large part due to the character of the people. Of Chili it may truthfully be said that her people constitute a nation. The casual visitor to Santiago is impressed by the prevalence of a type: the descendants of Spaniards, with an occasional dash of Araucanian blood in their veins.

Animated by a strong nationalistic spirit, Chilian statesmen have often striven to make their state economically independent. Since August, 1914, that high purpose has been particularly noticeable among business men. The produc-

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tion of Chilian concrete has increased greatly; the increased output of Chilian leather has almost excluded the American article from the market; the production of copper and wool has been stimulated. Finally, an impetus has in the long run been given to the peculiarly Chilian industry in saltpetre, with the result that in the deserts of northern Chili there are now in operation about one hundred and forty saltpetre establishments. During the last six months the rate of exchange has gradually improved, the Chilian paper peso being now reckoned at about its normal value. Chilian leaders, like those of Argentina and Brazil, are contemplating the promotion of new industries. In an editorial the leading newspaper of Santiago, *El Mercurio*, recently said that "in this manner the detrimental results produced in the country by the European war may be amply compensated for by the encouragement of new industries which will fully supply the needs of the nation and emancipate her from dependence upon foreign nations."

What of Chilian opinion concerning the war? To the writer it seems clear that when the war began there was a strong feeling in Chili in favor of Germany, if indeed a large majority of the people were not Germanophiles. This pro-German sentiment was partly due to the fact that there are many Germans and German-Chilians in Chili, who, while cherishing a pride in German culture, have to an extent become incorporated in the Chilian nation. As in Brazil, so also in Chili there are found some Germanophiles who have not scrupled to furnish surreptitious aid to the German cause. Germany has exerted considerable influence in educational circles: some of the professors in institutions of learning have been Germans, while many Chilian teachers have completed their education at German universities. A current mode of estimating Chilian opinion in regard to the war has been to say that the navy, trained according to English ideals, favors the cause of the Allies, while the army, trained by German officers, favors that of Germany.

The friends of Germany were not satisfied with expressing their views in such newspapers as the *Deutsche Zeitung für Chile*. After the outbreak of the war they founded at Santiago a Germanophile organ, *El Tiempo Nuevo*. The number of that newspaper issued on the birthday of the Emperor of Germany contained an editorial on "William II" which began with these words:

> Only God knows the definitive solution to the colossal war which is taking place upon the European continent—a war which shakes to its foundations the entire world. But whatever be the solution that the future reserves for Germany, there will always emerge in history as a gigantic personage who overshadows at many points the greatest monarchs of history, the figure of William II, Emperor of the Germans. . . . In particular, we wish to render homage to the Germans of Chili and to the German-Chilians who with a holy, filial love pray fervently for the success of the fatherland. . . . For his grandeur and personal glory, and to win an honorable place in history, it was not necessary for William II to inflict mortal anguish upon himself. Enough for him were the gifts which he had displayed as a wise and prudent ruler; as a social organizer who had gained the prestige of a great monarch. But he fixed his gaze upon the future and accepted the bitter ordeal; for he aspired to clear from obstacles the road along which future generations of Germans might travel in pursuit of progress.

In literary circles the most important product of the war has been the European correspondence of the prominent Chilian journalist, Carlos Silva Vildósola, which has been printed in *El Mercurio* of Santiago. In a series of brilliant letters written from European capitals that journalist described the war as observed by a Chilian. Perhaps the most interesting features of his letters were their suggestions in regard to Chili's responsibilities. In one written from London he declared that the rigorous action of Chili in regard to the preservation of her neutrality had partly destroyed the suspicions of the English, which had been provoked by stories concerning the coal and provisions and intelligence furnished to German raiders by Chilian sympathizers. "I had the conviction," said Silva, "that both the Government and the public wished to banish from the coasts of Chili the belligerent operations which disturb our commerce and impose new sacrifices upon us." The fearless letters of this journalist, recently collected and published in a volume entitled "Del Dolor y de la Muerte," have undoubtedly promoted sentiment in favor of the Allies.

Another influence which has been recently felt in Chili is the tendency to view the United States as the chosen leader of the neutral and especially of the American nations. On February 3 the *Mercurio* contained an editorial entitled "The United States, Germany, and the Rights of Neutrals." This article declared that the "diplomatic question" which had been agitated for two years between the United States and Germany concerning the maritime war and the rights of neutrals was again a subject for "exciting speculation." It expressed the opinion that a careful study of the antecedents of the question demonstrated that the illustrious President of the United States had contended for "the maintenance of indisputable principles" guaranteeing "the liberty of neutrals in maritime traffic" and fixing "the rules of equity, civilization, and humanity which modern criterions consider obligatory in war upon the seas." The writer continues: "From an impartial point of view the entire polemic shows that Germany has pursued a policy of making promises which she has never fulfilled. In the meantime the undeniable rights of neutrals have been restricted little by little until they have reached the point of annihilation." On February 5, the day following that on which the announcement was made that diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany had been broken off, the *Mercurio* declared that for all neutral nations the principles supported by the United States were of "vital importance" and that these nations cannot quietly witness the employment of barbarous and inhumane modes of warfare—"The nations of South America, bound to the United States by historic bonds, and by the intellectual relations which are daily being perfected, are to-day more than ever obliged to sustain the cause which President Wilson defends." Two professors of international law in the University of Chili, Montaner and Guerra, publicly and privately expressed their opinion that Germany's submarine policy was a monstrous violation of international law.

The concise and vigorous reply of Chili on February 8 to Germany's announcement of a new submarine campaign is what might have been expected from a Government whose chancery has always maintained an independent and patriotic attitude towards European interference with the rights of South American nations. The Chilian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Huidobow, declared to the German Chargé, von Erckert, that Germany's announcement constituted a restriction of the rights of neutrals which Chili could not endure: "The acceptance by Chili of the measures adopted by Germany would furthermore be a departure from the course of strict neutrality which she has followed during

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the actual European conflict. Hence, in regard to all her rights Chili reserves the liberty to claim respect for them at whatever moment an act of hostility is performed against her vessels." Chili's note replying to Ambassador Shea's announcement of the action of the United States in regard to Germany has just been published: it reënunciates the views set forth in her note of February 8 and adds that the Chilian Government considers its actions as being in harmony with the juridical objects sought by the United States in support of the general rights of neutrality and of the high ideals of world peace. Those persons who have declared that the Chilian Government was afraid to take any action that might offend "the German colony" have been rebuked and that Government has virtually given its moral support to the champion of the neutral nations.

The possibility that the United States may enter the war has provoked conjectures concerning the effects upon Chili of such an enlargement of the sphere of operations. Some Chilian business men believe that such an event would only benefit Chili; for the consumption of saltpetre would increase enormously; and there would also be an increased production of copper and other metals. They believe that Chilian maritime commerce will be safer than that of Brazil or Argentina, and that, if necessary, the warships of the Allies will escort the vessels laden with the precious saltpetre. Already calculations are made concerning the fresh profits that will accrue to Chili because of the increased need of ammunition. Some Chilian manufacturers—alarmed at the possible results of a war between the United States and Germany—are frantically purchasing American machinery and supplies. Far-sighted Chilians apprehend as the result of a serious rupture between Germany and the United States grave commercial consequences to South American countries. For in case of a German-American war these countries would be threatened with commercial and financial isolation.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON

Santiago de Chili, February 12

Nationalist Ireland—The Case for Home Rule*

POLITICAL writing and popular influence upon government go hand in hand. In England before electoral reform, when only a small number of persons had to be considered, there were pamphlets which Leonora and Squire Western used to read, written by satirists and statesmen from Milton and Swift to Bolingbroke and Robert Walpole, while for "mobile vulgus" there were numerous broadsides and ballads. But at the beginning of the twentieth century, when the electorate included most adult men and many women indirectly, the most vital issues of the day produced leaflets, pamphlets, and larger books in such wondrous profusion that they encumber libraries and seem a veritable hoard of treasure to the student who searches them through. Thus it was with the debate about protection and free trade, with women's suffrage, and above all with the question of Home Rule for Ireland.

In the decade prior to the war educational and propagandist literature on this subject was sent forth in enormous quantities. The collector divides it into that which was published by Ulster societies or their friends, that which was given forth by Conservatives and those who would maintain the Union, and that which was written for the Liberal party and by those who favored giving Ireland the self-government which she desired. All of it was interesting, much of it was marred by passion and misstatement, much was designed to plead and convince, some of it was not true; but certain characteristics predominate in one class or the other; the plea of Ulster was stern, determined, earnest, bigoted; the Unionists believed in their case, but above all they were bent upon making it plausible; the Home Rule advocates, too, would plead to win votes, but they issued less and told a simpler tale, and, so far as I can judge, were the fairest-minded of all.

They wished men and women to know the sins of the past and hearken to appeals for justice. They told of old-time misery and wrong, of a people conquered and despised, in hunger and in filth, eating their hearts out with ghastly, age-long despair, of an aristocracy heartless and proud, of a minority insolent and successful; and in the later years, of this people hoping with the courage of a better age, of famine stalking amidst plenty needed for rents, of multitudes dying by starvation, of myriads fleeing from their country in crowded ships reeking with cholera and typhus, of tens of thousands of graves unnamed and forgotten, and of the shrunken and diminished nation that remained behind. They told of the causes of this, what the latest generations of Englishmen had done for atonement, what was still to be done. They appealed not to prejudice or to vested interest, but to all that was wisest and most generous in their time. They asked what they believed was right because it was just, and also because it was prudent and best.

I

They said that Home Rule for Ireland was withstood by the Tories, who had always opposed liberal, constructive measures in England, and that their support of Ulster was largely political opposition to the Liberal party, done for their own selfish ends. As for the Lords, a long list might be made of reforms both from Britain and Ireland which they had mutilated or rejected; though in the end they had seldom succeeded in doing more than delaying what was afterwards passed despite them. Now they were merely continuing their selfish and stupid policy always held about legislation for Ireland. But Home Rule ought to be supported by British democracy and British liberal thought, for the Irish Nationalist movement was essentially democratic; the aristocracy had no part in it. The Irish had been pioneers in democratic representation, in payment of parliamentary representatives, in land reform, and in the housing of working classes. English workingmen and social reformers owed much to Ireland and to her members in the Commons.

Much had been done to improve the condition of the Irish people and to give them better government, but their gov-

*In the *Nation* of January 25 we published an article by Professor Turner in which Ulster's side of the case in the Home Rule controversy was impartially set forth ("Ulster—An Exposition Based on the Writings of Both Sides"). As a result we have received several letters from correspondents, rash to draw conclusions, reproaching us for having espoused the cause of Ulster! If answer is required, Professor Turner's present article, written and accepted at the same time as the other, would seem to supply it.—[ED. THE NATION.

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ernment was not yet suited to the needs of a free people, since it was not administered by Cabinet officials responsible to a legislature chosen by the people. The Government really consisted of an executive without a legislative; and the executive was a head servant, the Lord Lieutenant, whose master, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, was usually abroad. The position of the Lord Lieutenant was one of pomp and little power; the Chief Secretary possessed the actual authority, but he spent nine months a year at Westminster, and was responsible to the Parliament of the United Kingdom, which represented Ireland only in small degree. The armed force of the island was under him, and behind him was the military and naval power of Great Britain. He appointed the judges and the officers of the police, and thus controlled those who saw to the enforcement of law. The colleagues of the Chief Secretary, dependent upon the majority in the House of Commons, made laws for Ireland, land acts, tariff acts, franchise or redistribution acts, which might be directly in contravention of the wishes of the Irish. However well administered this government might be, it was not government by the people. "I quickly realized," said a former Under-Secretary, a Conservative, "that the gulf which yawned between the people and the Government could only be bridged by associating the people with the government of their own affairs."

But as a matter of fact the system was deficient, irritating, cumbersome, and expensive. It was characterized by overlapping, extravagance, waste, and discrimination against the majority of the Irish people in the matter of governmental appointments. In 1912 it was said that the cost of administration in England and Wales was 18s. 8d. for every person, while in Ireland it was £2 4s. To a House of Commons containing 670 members Ireland sent 103. Frequently measures affecting only the island and supported by a large majority of its people never passed into law because opposed by English, Scottish, and Welsh members, while these same members were able to force upon Ireland measures repugnant to the people, which their own representatives were powerless to prevent. It was frequently difficult to attend to matters non-controversial in character and important locally, but otherwise unimportant, because Westminster had failed to provide for such a thing; and when supplementary legislation was sought it was usually difficult to obtain and exceedingly expensive. A bill for the amalgamation of three Irish railways was before Parliament for three sessions, it is said, and cost nearly £100,000; but this could have been disposed of at Dublin in a tenth of the time for a twentieth of the cost.

Home Rule would remedy all this by giving to Irishmen the self-government which their circumstances required. With their own Parliament a multitude of things neglected now and long neglected would receive adequate attention. A home rule legislature would have time for what the Imperial Parliament could not—such matters as education, housing, poor-law administration, surface drainage, trade and transit, railways, canals, and harbors. And an Irish Parliament would reflect the ideas and the wishes of the Irish people, it would have proper knowledge of problems affecting them, and sufficient leisure for their consideration. Money raised by taxation would be spent by elected representatives. Under Home Rule, also, Irish government would be carried on as in England through departments grouped in a Cabinet answerable to the majority of the voters. For the first time in more than a hundred years Ireland would have a government satisfactory to the mass of her people and capable of giving them prosperity and chance to develop.

Nor would Home Rule be expensive. "How much would it cost the British workman?" was often asked, and the answer was: "Something between a farthing a month and a farthing a year." For three years £500,000 was to be contributed, after which the sum would gradually be diminished; but it should be remembered on the one hand that during the nineteenth century the Imperial Exchequer had received from Ireland £300,000,000 in taxes which was not spent in the island, and also that because of the maintenance of Irish police and excessive administrative expense Britain was now having to give each year ever-increasing amounts of money to Dublin. With Home Rule greater frugality would be possible and might be expected, the deficit might diminish and disappear, and only thus would Ireland be able to contribute to the cost of Imperial administration.

II

It was frequently and passionately urged that Home Rule would entail danger to Great Britain and the Empire; but what could the danger be? Not separation, as was often said, for the vast majority of Irishmen had no desire whatever for absolute independence. Those who believed the contrary heeded too much the sayings of embittered emigrants in America or the heated outbursts of a few in Ireland; but they were not many, and time and self-government would change their sentiments. Unionists often cited the declaration of the Irish Boy Scouts: their words were disquieting, but what were the facts of the matter? They numbered less than two hundred, were merely children, and had been organized by a handful of insignificant political extremists. Were the feelings of the Irish people always to be judged by the hasty or wrathful words of a few—what would not Englishmen have said in the midst of such grievances?—and never by the calmer sayings of responsible leaders? Ireland had no desire for separation from the Empire. She was too small to stand alone, and she knew it. Her economic prosperity was altogether dependent upon continued intimate business relations with the British Isles. England was the only market in the world for Irish goods. Generally six-sevenths of Ireland's trade and practically all of her business was with Great Britain. In 1910 her direct trade with foreign nations was slightly more than £1,500,000; the total value of goods exported nearly £66,000,000. Moreover, the Old-Age Pension act had bound Ireland to England by a financial tie which few would ever wish to break. But Irishmen did not want separation. Over and over again Mr. Redmond had said that it was impossible. "We deny that we are separatists and we say we are willing . . . to accept a subordinate Parliament created by statute of this Imperial Legislature as a final settlement of Ireland's claims."

If, improbable though it was, desire for separation did exist, the proposed Home Rule legislation provided ample security. In general matters the Government at London retained its power unimpaired.

> Notwithstanding the Establishment of the Irish Parliament or anything contained in this Act, the supreme power and authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall remain unaffected and undiminished over all persons, matters, and things within his Majesty's dominions.

Thus ran the Home Rule bill of 1912. The Imperial Parliament was still to make all laws relating to the crown,

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the succession, regency, foreign affairs, treaties, war and peace, the navy, the army, or any armed force, an act of the Irish Parliament contrary to such statute being void. And because the Parliament at Westminster and not the future body at Dublin was to be supreme here, Ireland was to continue with representation in the Imperial body, though reduced from 103 to 42.

It was often said that Irishmen were disloyal and not to be trusted, but some well informed thought otherwise. "We accept this bill in absolute good faith as a settlement of the interminable quarrel between the two countries," said Mr. Redmond in 1912. It was true that some Irishmen were disloyal, that some of them rejoiced in British disasters, as when the exploits of the Boers were announced; but what of the heroism which Queen Victoria gratefully acknowledged, which had been shown long ago at Fuentes d'Onoro, afterwards many a time in India, and even in the Transvaal? "Don't forget how many of us Irish soldiers died in South Africa for the Empire," were the words of a splendid cartoon in colors, answering one of the Opposition.

Certain ones affirmed that most of the Irish did not want Home Rule; but of the 101 constituencies in which members were elected by popular franchise, 80 had invariably sent Home Rule members to Parliament, while Unionists had been regularly returned from only 10. Ever since 1885, it was said, when a widely extended electorate was established in Ireland, four-fifths of the representation had been pledged to Home Rule, and in few constituencies had there been wavering with respect to this since then. "Does Ireland want Home Rule?" was the title of a colored poster circulated in 1913: a map showing that all of Connaught and all of Munster returned members pledged to Home Rule, that in Leinster only those for the University of Dublin were opposed to it, and that for Ulster Unionist members sat for only about half of the province. To the House of Commons Ireland sent but 18 Unionist members.

It was frequently said that the Irish people were incapable of governing themselves well, and under Home Rule would fall into the hands of unscrupulous political leaders who would use them for their own purpose, that minorities would be oppressed, and that the state of the people generally would be worse than before. But Ireland's last opportunity to rule herself partly through her own representatives was when Grattan's Parliament sat in the period from 1782 to 1800, and several historians have borne witness to the prosperity and progress of the country then. And for recent times there was excellent illustration. In 1885 Lord Salisbury had declared that local government by the Irish would be even more dangerous than Home Rule; yet he himself was at the head of a Ministry which passed the Irish County Councils act in 1898. By common consent local government in Ireland since that time had been administered well. There was no reason for thinking that Irishmen were politically deficient or perverse. That was a political cry which had been used to defeat the Home Rule bills of Gladstone.

III

Two particularly grave hazards were persistently alleged: religious persecution and the possible oppression of minorities, especially Ulster. Home Rule means Rome Rule, was the cry, but what ground was there for saying this? The statute proposed dealt with the matter specifically:

> In the exercise of their power to make laws under this act, the Irish Parliament shall not make a law so as either directly or indirectly to establish or endow any religion, or prohibit the free exercise thereof, or give a preference, privilege, or advantage, or impose any disability or disadvantage, on account of religious belief or religious or ecclesiastical status, or make any religious belief or religious ceremony a condition of the validity of any marriage.

Religious intolerance on the part of an Irish government was impossible; it would never have power to set up a state religion or deal unjustly with the adherents of other faiths; and a decree like *Ne Temere*, so much talked about, was only a church regulation, and had no force whatever so far as the law of the land was concerned.

Some who favored Home Rule believed that for a while priests and Catholic majorities would be oppressive, though doubtless in the end matters would right themselves; but others thought it far from certain that Irish Catholics would oppress Protestants if they could. A long time before John Wesley had noted the kindliness of priests and peasants. The historian Lecky had said:

> Among the Catholics, at any rate, religious intolerance has never been a prevailing vice; and those who have studied closely the history and character of the Irish people can hardly fail to be struck with the deep respect for sincere religion, in every form, which they have commonly evinced.

Now in these latter days eminent Protestants declared that they had ever been treated fairly by their Catholic neighbors, and had no fear of a government which they would control. It was pointed out that Catholic Irishmen had followed Protestant leaders, and often elected them to serve on local governing bodies. If there was intolerance and discrimination, it was on the part of Protestants; wherever they were in minority they got more than their share of public appointments; but wherever Unionists were more numerous they used their power as far as possible to exclude Roman Catholics from either influence or preferment. In some Catholic districts governing bodies employed almost as many Protestants as members of their own church; but in Belfast the corporation paid less than a fiftieth of its amount of salaries to Catholics, and no Romanist had ever been allowed to be Lord Mayor there. "Religious intolerance is unknown in Ireland outside the Tory corner of Ulster," said a leaflet of the Home Rule Council. And a writer asked whether in view of facts known to be true Catholics could not be trusted to deal with their Protestant fellow-countrymen generously and fairly.

Wherever self-government existed, the power of priesthood was always checked by public opinion. This was so in France, in Austria, in Italy, and in Belgium; and also to some extent in Portugal and in Spain. In Bavaria, in Baden, and in Alsace-Lorraine Catholics were in majority, but they did not persecute. "Religious persecution cannot thrive where there is a free Parliament," said a leaflet.

Nor under Home Rule would politics be controlled by priests in the interests of the church, or direction come from Rome. The Pope had seldom interfered in Irish politics except at the request of England, and Catholics had not always been obedient to his behest in matters political. About the time of Catholic Emancipation Cardinal Gonsalvi's acceptance for Rome of the English Government's scheme for appointment of Irish bishops was defeated by the Catholic laity headed by Daniel O'Connell: "I would as soon receive my politics from Constantinople as from Rome," he said; and in 1883 subscriptions for the testimonial to Parnell were collected in defiance of a papal re-

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script, at the same time that Irish Nationalists denounced unwarrantable interference with their political rights. "Our religion is independent of England," said a certain one afterwards, "and our politics are independent of Rome."

There was the problem of the people of Ulster; but their fears were groundless, and resulted from their bigoted ideas inherited from olden times. The Home Rule bill provided safety for the religion of minorities, and likewise, it was said, provided for the taxation of all parts of Ireland alike, though the economic objections raised in Belfast do not seem to have been adequately answered. The fears of Ulster were declared to be without foundation, but was it right in any event that the island should be swayed by a minority, and not have Home Rule because half the population of one of the provinces opposed it? In Ulster almost half the people were Catholics, and some of the Protestants favored Home Rule, while of Ulster's representatives in the House of Commons nearly as many supported the measure as desired continuation of the Union. It was the character of the opponents that stood in the way. Sydney Brooks wrote:

> Their political creed is really a political cult, a compound of fears, instincts, hatreds, and suspicions in which facts are metamorphosed out of all semblance to reality. Discussing Irish questions with them was, I found, much like attempting to argue the race problem with a Southern planter of the old school. And the very qualities of earnestness, virility, conservatism, and obstinate fidelity to the few leaders who win their reluctant trust, that have made them so formidable, have made them also the dupes of their prejudices. . . .

Ulster Unionists insisted on the total or partial exclusion of the province from the operation of Home Rule. Nationalists refused this; but it should be noted that Mr. Redmond with much nobility declared that he did not wish self-government to come as a bitter defeat for an intelligent and honest section of his countrymen, that he would go any length to remove their suspicions, and furnish any safeguards for their religion: "I want to influence their intelligence, I want to dissipate their suspicions, I want to soften their hearts."

IV

There were advantages which would accrue to Great Britain aside from satisfying Ireland, some of them much to be desired. If Imperial policy and important matters were to have the consideration in Parliament which they should have, matters of local concern must be settled elsewhere. "Home Rule the Secret of Empire," was the title of a leaflet; and in truth, wider influence and greater strength would result. The British organization was not a collection of dependencies under the domination of a central power, but largely a great sisterhood of free states banded together for mutual protection and defence. The glory of its citizens was that they alone had succeeded in reconciling colonial empire with liberty. Twenty-eight governments had home rule parliaments, including the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man, and wherever the device had been tried it had proved an unqualified success. "We gave Home Rule to the Boers: why not give Home Rule in purely Irish affairs to Irishmen?" If attempt were made to govern any race of white men against their wishes, they would be disloyal; but freedom created allegiance. In the case of Ireland, the alternative to Home Rule was coercion. Granting this, self-government would strengthen the bonds of empire. The principle was cordially approved by the colonies. At one of the Imperial Conferences all of the Prime Ministers favored it. On five occasions the Canadian Parliament passed resolutions in sympathy with the Irish demand, and in 1905 the Australian House of Representatives sent a petition to that effect to the King. Fulfilment would probably conduce to the design of closer Imperial federation.

But Home Rule for Ireland was also the condition of a scheme even grander. There were statesmen who dreamed of a future for Anglo-Saxon peoples in which greater security and power would come from closer drawing together of the inhabitants of all parts of the Empire and the United States of America. This must be done gradually. First, perhaps, an arbitration treaty, then some sort of an understanding, in the end, possibly, an alliance. But meanwhile Irishmen had gone forth to the colonies, to Canada, and above all to the United States, carrying unquenchable hatred, and resolved that none of these things should come to pass, if they could prevent them. In 1910 a writer in the *Fortnightly Review* declared:

> It is only one acute sign of the fact known to every one who makes a candid study of American conditions that there is no possibility not only of an alliance but of a close *rapprochement*, or even of a permanent treaty of arbitration between the British Empire and the American Republic while the Irish question remains on its present footing. To place it on a different footing has become one of the chief needs of our foreign policy.

In 1913 Earl Grey, though not in sympathy with the Government's Home Rule measure, said, nevertheless, in the House of Lords, that in the interests of the Empire he felt the imperative necessity of settling the Irish question on lines which would satisfy the oversea democracies, both in the self-governing colonies and in the United States. And Mr. Roosevelt had already said in London that the preliminary condition of closer relations was the reconcilement to England of Irish sentiment in America.

EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER

Correspondence

A PROTEST

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Although my subscription to the *Nation* does not expire for several weeks, I am so indignant at the narrow-minded letter of Preserved Smith in the issue of March 1 that I send you my check at once for the coming year.

KENNETH MCKENZIE

Urbana, Ill., March 3

GERMANY'S SUBMARINE MEASURES AND THE BRITISH BLOCKADE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: There are two statements in Professor Preserved Smith's letter published in your issue of March 1 which seem to me to be so unfounded in fact that I venture to offer a few observations on them. He says: "Germany is hard pressed and suffering herself, and there is very little difference in her blockade of England and England's blockade of her." Professor Smith evidently assumes that the German submarine measure against England is a blockade. But the fact is, if we judge it by the tests heretofore universally applied by the authorities on international law and

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in the light of modern usage, it does not possess a single characteristic of a blockade. What Germany has done is simply to declare by proclamation a vast area of the open seas, aggregating more than a million square miles, to be a "war zone" and to announce that neutral vessels entering the forbidden area shall be destroyed without warning, whether they are bound for the ports of the enemy or for neutral ports, and whether they are laden with contraband or with innocent cargoes. Very recently, indeed, several Dutch ships have been sunk while proceeding in ballast to their own country. Where is the analogy between such a measure and a blockade? During the past week more than two thousand vessels entered and cleared from British ports; if, therefore, the German measure were intended to be a blockade it is illegal, because of its obvious ineffectiveness. Moreover, it is a well-settled rule of international law as well as of practice to warn vessels which are suspected of intending to run a blockade, or which are found approaching the blockading line in ignorance, and never before have belligerents presumed to destroy such vessels with or without warning. The German measure cannot, therefore, by any possible construction be placed in the category of blockades.

So far as I am aware not a single life has been destroyed in connection with the enforcement of the British blockade measures, nor a single neutral vessel sunk. On the contrary, German submarines have sunk more than three hundred neutral vessels, and as for the destruction of innocent lives, we can only regret that the hundreds of unoffending men, women, and children who have gone to their deaths at the hands of German submarine commanders cannot speak from the depths of the seas which they were innocently navigating and for the freedom of which Germans now hypocritically pretend to be fighting.

Again Professor Smith says, "Drowning a few thousand non-combatants is no more inhumane than trying to starve a hundred million non-combatants." This is probably the thousandth time that German apologists have asserted that the British blockade is unlawful because it seeks to intercept Germany's over-sea supply of foodstuffs. Was ever the right of a belligerent to cut off his enemy's food supply by siege or blockade denied by any publicist or statesman before the contention was put forward by the Germans in the present war? Let their own statesmen and their own practice answer the question. When Strassburg was besieged by the Germans in 1870, and the French military Governor appealed to the German commander to allow milk to be brought in for the benefit of starving babies, the latter replied in substance on September 22: "You can have milk for your babies when you surrender." Five days later the city surrendered. As is well known, Bazaine, Metz, and Paris were starved into submission. Bismarck ("The Man and the Statesman," Vol. II, p. 125) defended the starvation of Paris as a more humane act than bombardment, yet starvation by siege differs in no essential particular from starvation by blockade. Nevertheless, Bethmann-Hollweg in his speech of April, 1916, denounced the British blockade as "contrary to international law because its purpose is to starve us out and to extend the war to the entire German nation, to our women, and to our children."

In reply to a memorial from a number of Hamburg merchants against the French attempt to declare rice absolute contraband in 1885, Prince Bismarck stated that it belonged to the belligerent Powers to say what they intended to treat as contraband, and that "the measure in question has for its object the shortening of the war by increasing the difficulties of the enemy, and is a justifiable step in war if impartially enforced against all neutral ships." Chancellor von Caprivi in 1892 reaffirmed the legitimacy of starvation as a measure "absolutely without barbarity."

If only blockades which permit foodstuffs to go to the enemy were legally permissible, blockade as a belligerent measure would obviously be of little or no value to a belligerent. As is well known, the effect if not the purpose of the blockade of the Southern Confederacy (1861-1865) was to starve the civil as well as the military population into submission. Not only was the food supply cut off, but even materials for the manufacture of red-cross supplies, as well as drugs and medicines of every kind. It is not known whether the shutting out of food actually resulted in the starvation of any woman or child, but it is undeniable that it caused widespread suffering and misery, and it has been stated on good authority that the lack of medicines, and especially of quinine and calomel, was probably responsible for many deaths. Whatever may be the facts as to this, it does not appear that the contention was ever put forward in the South that the blockade was contrary to international law. It was heroically submitted to as a legitimate belligerent measure, and no acts of reprisal were resorted to against the enemy for adopting and vigorously enforcing a policy which the Germans during the present war have denounced as both inhumane and illegal. There was, to be sure, some sentiment among statesmen and textwriters against the right of commercial blockade long before the outbreak of the present war, but no international action was ever taken towards abolishing it. On the contrary, commercial blockade was recognized as a lawful belligerent right, and its exercise regulated by the Declaration of London, which the German Imperial Government proposed to put into effect without modification at the outbreak of the war and against the disregard of which by Great Britain and France the Germans have never ceased to protest. Does Professor Smith or any German apologist suppose for a moment that, had the German navy at the outset succeeded in driving the British fleet from the seas and isolating the British Isles, the Imperial Government would have allowed a stream of food supplies to pour into England for the support of the civil population? To ask such a question is to answer it.

German treatment of women and children and of non-combatants generally during the war 1870-71 and during the present war is evidence enough that they have no such feelings of tenderness and consideration for the civil population of their enemies. Lord Robert Cecil, replying in the House of Commons on March 19, 1916, to the German charge of inhumanity against the British Government for cutting off the overseas milk supply for the babies of Germany, stated that within the occupied districts of France when the Germans arrived there were half a million cattle; "hardly one is now left," said Lord Robert, "and to-day Mr. Hoover's commission is sending into that district three million tins of condensed milk, monthly, to keep alive the thousands of French babies whose source of supply has been taken from them by the Germans, and without which they would be dying of starvation to-day." "Belgium," he added, "had one million five hundred thousand cattle; we know that practically half of these have gone to Germany."

Finally, there is no evidence that the British blockade

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has ever resulted in the starvation of a single German woman or baby. On the contrary, throughout the years 1915-1916 hardly a week passed in which currency was not given to an official or semi-official statement from Berlin that the British blockade was a failure; that Germany had an abundance of food and other supplies, and that she could not be starved into submission. The Imperial Chancellor himself more than once issued statements of this kind.

It is hard to understand how an unbiassed mind can fail to see the difference between what Professor Smith erroneously characterizes as the German "blockade" of England and the British blockade of Germany. The methods of procedure in the two cases are in fact as different as the act of a madman who runs amuck, threatening to destroy indiscriminately the guilty and the innocent alike, and the act of a man who, although his conduct may not be entirely free from reproach, nevertheless directs his attack against his enemy only and, even then, gives him warning and an opportunity to escape. The identification of two such obviously different measures is another example of the strange logic by which the distinction between merchant vessels and warships has been explained away, by which the distinction between combatants and non-combatants has been reduced to a fiction, by which Belgium was converted into a belligerent by the delivery of the German ultimatum of August 2 and thereby deprived of the protection of the Hague Convention, by which treaties and international conventions whose validity had never before been questioned were argued out of existence, and by which other equally wondrous miracles have been wrought by Teutonic logicians.

JAMES W. GARNER

Urbana, Ill., March 5

JOHN E. RUSSELL

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Prof. John E. Russell, of Williams, whose death occurred on February 25, was one of those teachers of philosophy whose efforts are concentrated not upon writing, but upon the work of the classroom and of the campus. The personal influence which he brought to bear upon twenty-eight successive classes at the college of his choice was unusual, and he was probably more beloved by undergraduates and alumni than any other member of the Williams faculty since the days of Mark Hopkins. Before accepting a professorship at Williams he was for some years instructor in Biblical theology in the Yale Divinity School; and, more recently, he has also been a temporary member of the philosophical faculties of Harvard and Chicago Universities. His published writings include an edition of Locke's Essay which has had wide use, an Elementary Logic, and a "First Book in Philosophy." His mind was essentially critical rather than constructive, and was seen at its best in various brief articles in the technical journals, to which he was a frequent contributor. Notable among other articles was a series of brilliant attacks upon Pragmatism, particularly his controversies (in the *Journal of Philosophy*) with Professor James and with Dr. Schiller.

In spite of his later partial conversion to Pragmatism, he must ever be ranked as one of its most subtle and dangerous critics, and it was largely due to the embarrassing questions which he raised that Pragmatism, in its original extreme form, came to a sudden halt in its career of conquest. It was characteristic of Professor Russell's catholic interests and ever-youthful spirit that in his last years his thoughts turned from the problems of epistemology to centre chiefly in the more human fields of social psychology and social ethics.

J. B. P.

Willliamstown, Mass., March 1

BOOKS

Grant's Chief of Staff

The Life of John A. Rawlins. By James Harrison Wilson, Major-General U. S. A. New York: The Neale Publishing Co.

ON July 17, 1869, General John A. Rawlins, who had been Grant's Chief of Staff during the Civil War, and was then holding the office of Secretary of War and dying of tuberculosis, ordered General James Harrison Wilson to Washington, and asked him to become his literary executor. On September 6 of the same year Rawlins died. The work which General Wilson promised to undertake is completed after forty-seven years by the publication of his "Life of John A. Rawlins."

There are obvious reasons why so frank a contribution to American history could not well have appeared until many years had elapsed after the close of the war. There is something of pathos in Rawlins's deathbed belief that later generations would hold his memory in esteem as one who had served his country in an important station. He could not have imagined that in the confusion of thought which has come about more honor would be paid to the men who fought to destroy the Union than to those who fought to preserve it. He could not have foreseen that in later times Americans would teach that it does not matter on which side men then took their stand. Nevertheless, it does matter where they stood, and this biography of an earnest, capable, and patriotic American may help to show to Americans of the future which way manhood, duty, and love of country should lead.

Long closely associated with both men at Vicksburg and in Virginia, intimate with, and trusted by both, General Wilson had every opportunity to know what Rawlins was to Grant. Under the name of Grant he says a dual character made up of Grant and Rawlins has passed into history. It was Rawlins who wrote Grant's military reports. It was Rawlins who threw the deciding weight of his influence in favor of Wilson's suggestion to run the boats past the guns of Vicksburg and move the Union troops to a point below the city. It was Rawlins who broke up the demijohns about Grant's headquarters, got rid of the roysterers on Grant's staff, exacted pledges from Grant not to drink during the war, enlisted Wilson's help to keep temptation away from the army commander, and administered direct and stern rebukes on those occasions when Grant fell. It was Rawlins who was the final adviser in all the great emergencies of Grant's military life, and General Wilson thinks, not without good reason, that Grant's Presidency would have been more successful if Rawlins had not died within a few months after it began. It is creditable to Grant that he appreciated thoroughly the services, personal and official, of this stern moralist who would not have his wife visit him because he thought women should

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not come to camp, who would not go to the theatre at Norfolk with Grant because the troops had no such pleasure and he thought that what the troops were deprived of high officers should do without. This modern Roundhead was born in 1831 in the northwestern corner of Illinois of Scotch and Irish stock. His grandfather was a Virginian, his mother a Kentucky woman. Rawlins's first wife died of tuberculosis in 1861. He developed acute symptoms of it in 1863, in which year he married a second time, and the second wife died of the same disease a few years after the death of her husband. The year, 1864, given on page 201 as the date of the second marriage is clearly an oversight.

In youth Rawlins had been a charcoal burner. He saved his earnings, attended for a few terms a local academy, and then studied law. He became a forceful debater and public speaker, and it was one of his speeches that rekindled the military spirit and patriotism of Grant, then a clerk in a Galena leather store. The next day Grant drilled a company, and four days later went to Springfield, where he found service in the Adjutant-General's office. In August, 1861, Grant offered Rawlins the position of aide-de-camp. In 1863, after the Vicksburg campaign, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, and became Grant's Chief of Staff, a position which he held until the close of the war. It appears extraordinary to-day that a man who, previous to 1861, had no military training whatever should have held the difficult and responsible position of Chief of Staff of an army commander. With some expert leading, both the Northern and Southern armies were composed of volunteers. They learned the art of war by practice. They developed many new ideas in warfare, and it is to be remembered that volunteers like Forrest and Gordon in the South and Logan, Terry, and Hartranft in the North became skilful generals.

General Wilson, the last survivor of army commanders of the Civil War, dwells upon the fact that General Grant, after he came to Virginia, had no properly organized or competent staff. Neither, he says, had Lee. Rawlins's military influence with Grant waned in Virginia. Comstock, an engineer officer, is held responsible for Grant's inconclusive head-on attacks. General Wilson does not say so, but the real staff work in Virginia in 1864 was done by Humphreys and other capable staff officers of Meade. General Wilson says that Rawlins wrote Grant's complete reports, and did it with such care that their accuracy has never been questioned. Now Grant's report of July 22, 1865, after the war was over, says that his instructions for the Army of the Potomac were all through Meade and were general in their nature, leaving the details and execution to him—a policy which would account for the waning of Rawlins's military influence and the absence of a competent staff for Grant. Where the staff work was being done is shown by Meade's message to Grant of April 17, 1864, saying that 1,000,000 rations would be assembled at Fortress Monroe by April 30, with forage and other supplies, that 100 rounds of artillery ammunition per gun and 100 rounds of small arms ammunition per man, and siege trains with tools for a siege of Richmond would be in readiness, and medical stores for 12,000 wounded would be provided on the Pamunkey or the James River, and that for immediate movement across the Rapidan there were provided 150 rounds of small arms ammunition per man, 16 days' marching rations on the hoof, 6 days' rations on the person, 10 days' allowance of grain for the animals, and hospital supplies for the sick. The reserve trains consisted of 4,000 wagons, and in their movement into the enemy's country they had to be covered by the army. Meade and Humphreys knew well enough that they could march the troops and the fighting trains across the Wilderness and into the clear country before coming to battle. But they had to protect the reserve wagons and the artillery reserve. General Wilson says that the slowness of corps commanders was the cause of the battle coming on in the Wilderness. The infantry corps commanders at the time were Hancock, Warren, and Sedgwick. Hancock had to be called back, Warren was well ahead, and all three had to cover the trains. General Wilson applies Grant's figure of a "balky team" to the corps of the Army of the Potomac, but Grant's application of it was to the previous movements of entire armies, East and West, each engaging in operations without much regard to what the others were doing.

The present European war, of course, makes much of American war management archaic, but the reflection is chiefly upon the methods of a democracy, the form of government, as developed in the United States, the least fitted to prosecute war successfully. There were skilful American generals on both sides in the Civil War, but they were hampered in many ways by the voters at home and the voters' representatives at Washington. McClellan had a clear perception of the need of preparation, and he saw more clearly than any of the Northern generals the uses of artillery, now developed so that everybody can see them. When Grant began his Virginia campaign some 12,000 artillerymen from the defences of Washington were sent to the Army of the Potomac and armed as infantry. Grant's methods as a general were American methods. He was not, says Wilson, an organizer or a tactician. Fortunate in being opposed in the West by Confederate commanders with similar American methods, he came East in 1864 to take command of an organization already prepared for him. Before 1865 he had broken it up, but fortunately for the Union by this time there was little fighting power left in the Southern Confederacy.

D. H. Lawrence

The Prussian Officer and Other Stories. By D. H. Lawrence. New York: B. W. Huebsch.

Twilight in Italy. The Same.

IN one of Henry James's last critical utterances, his "note" (as he would have called it) on "The New Novel," he rated Mr. D. H. Lawrence, with Mr. Gilbert Cannan, Mr. Compton Mackenzie, and Mr. Hugh Walpole, as perhaps the leading practitioners of the "new novel" in England. These men all represented, he said, a conscious protest against the sentimentalism, the "dodginess" of the nineteenth-century novel. They inclined to confound the romantic with the sentimental, and, following in the footsteps of their elders, Messrs. Wells and Bennett, pursued fact, relying upon "the tide of the copious as a condition of the thorough." "So," says Mr. James, "the possibility of hugging the shore of the real as it had not, among us, been hugged, and of pushing inland, as far as a keel might float, wherever the least opening seemed to smile, dawned upon a few votaries and gathered further confidence with exercise." The thing was to avoid sham, to escape from the conventions and fatuities of a sentimental usage—and to establish

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a sincere usage. Now it is clear enough that this impulse came, not primarily from or even through Messrs. Wells and Bennett, but rather from those Continental sources to which Mr. Bennett has so frankly referred himself. And often the flavor of the work that resulted was too plainly exotic: we were asked to accept a Londoner with a cockney accent and a Franco-Russian soul, a type of Oxford man who wept and raved and roved among the women like a hero from somewhere across the Channel, a type of English girl who writhed and yearned and sparkled and obliged in the best Continental manner. Realism, my masters! The quaint thing about this "new" novel in England of the past decade is that it represents the pursuit of a "realism" which during that very period the French novel (and less markedly the Russian) was pretty generally discarding. Whether for romance or for the novel of ideas, France had pretty well shaken off the bonds of naturalism some years before the outbreak of the great war.

Mr. D. H. Lawrence is a signal instance of the English writer of foreign breeding. The point is not that he fails to talk like John Bull, but that he talks like an expatriate. His matter is not more indigenous than his manner: he is an æsthetic philosopher-at-large of realistic habit, a pocket Dostoievsky plus a pocket D'Annunzio. The prevailing idea in the two books before us is that of the profound isolation of the human soul. Their melancholy rests upon the author's conviction that the flesh is a barrier not only between the soul and its individual freedom to develop, but between every soul and every other. Again and again we see the essential man groping helplessly and hopelessly to find an outlet for pure communion through passion, through friendship, through domestic love. Hence the tragic note in the tale of the Prussian officer and his orderly: they are victims of a force greater than themselves, which urges them to conflict upon the fatal barrier, and slays them there. The wife in "Odour of Chrysanthemums" looks upon the body of her dead mate and is moved chiefly by the sense of his remoteness, which death merely reveals: "Life, with its smoky burning gone from him, had left him apart and utterly alien to her. In her womb was ice of fear, because of this separate stranger with whom she had been living as one flesh. Was this what it all meant?—utter, intact separateness, obscured by heat of living?" And so it is in all the other stories here collected; the raw and desperate loneliness of the soul struggling towards death as an end of the coil, if not a solution. A style adorns our wretchedness, there is much polished naturalistic detail, in the Latin manner: "He noticed the fine, fair down on her cheek and her upper lip, and her soft, white neck, like the throat of a nettle flower, and her forearms, bright as newly blanched kernels."

"Twilight in Italy" conveys, in the same half-mystical half-naturalistic manner, an impression of ante-bellum Italy. Melancholy has accompanied the observer on his journey, and is by no means dissipated by what that journey brings him. He discovers that the Italian people, instead of "Children of the Sun," are "Children of the Shadow." They hide in dark houses, in dark crooked streets, "their souls are dark and nocturnal." Or if they go into the sun, it is to a baleful end! "This is the soul of the Italian since the Renaissance. In the sunshine he basks asleep, gathering up a vintage into his veins which in the night-time he will distil into ecstatic sensual delight, the intense, white-cold ecstasy of darkness and moonlight, the raucous, cat-like, destructive enjoyment, the senses conscious and crying out in their enjoyment, which has consumed the southern nation, perhaps all the Latin races, since the Renaissance." In like manner he finds Italy as a nation reduced to spiritual twilight, following after strange gods. Every cheerful sight has its dismal implications. A busy, happy scene in a public square of Milan catches his eye—alas, "I saw that here life was still vivid, here the process of disintegration was vigorous and centred in a multiplicity of mechanical activities that engage the human mind as well as the body. But always there was the same purpose stinking in it all, the mechanizing, the perfect mechanizing of human life." Ants on the hill, mites in the cheese! If peaceful Europe bred this minor prophet, what, we wonder, has warring Europe done to him?

The Teaching of Government

The Teaching of Government. By Charles Grove Haines and Others. New York: The Macmillan Co. $1.10 net.

TEACHERS of government have waited long and patiently for this book. Six years ago the American Political Science Association appointed a committee "to consider the methods of teaching government in American schools, colleges, and universities, and to suggest means of enlarging and improving such instruction." Now we have the committee's final report, with a survey of present methods and various recommendations for improving them.

In some respects the book is likely to prove of service, for it contains a great deal of data relating to the amount and the character of instruction in political science now being given by institutions of education throughout the country, and it brings together much useful material drawn from the reports of other bodies which have been making inquiries in the same field. On the other hand, its value is greatly impaired by the lack of orderliness in arrangement, by the inclusion of much that is of neither present-day interest nor usefulness, and by the complacent contempt for accuracy in matters of detail which the volume shows all too plainly. One need only examine the bibliography (pp. 111-133) to be convinced that care in compilation and in proofreading was not one of the things upon which Professor Haines and his colleagues placed any undue emphasis. Within these twenty-odd pages, in fact, one may find excellent examples of nearly everything that a good bibliographer ought not to do. Names of authors are at times misspelled; their initials are in some cases given wrongly or not given at all. The date of publication assigned to a volume is indifferently the first edition or the latest edition or any edition between. Sometimes the place of publication is indicated, sometimes only the name of the publisher, sometimes neither. In a half-dozen or more instances no date is given. The number of volumes in a work is occasionally mentioned, but much more often omitted. Books of undoubted usefulness, such as Willoughby's "Constitutional Law," Jameson's "Constitutional Conventions," and Fairlie's "National Administration," are left out, while a ponderous disquisition upon the minutiæ of a foreign government (Laband's "Staatsrecht"), which would be of no conceivable use in a school library, is left in. More astonishing still is the attitude of the committee as respects the relative merits of the books included. In decorating with an asterisk the references which are of "special value," the classics of American gov-

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ernment, the writings of Story, Tocqueville, and Cooley, are obtrusively ignored; even the *Federalist* does not draw the star of honor which the compilers of this report have so freely bestowed upon many books of trifling consequence.

The whole thing is a striking example of an unfortunate practice which is becoming all too common among our so-termed learned societies. Some member at the annual meeting makes a suggestion which no one feels called upon to oppose; the suggestion is referred to a committee, and the committee, particularly if the suggester be its chairman, as is usually the case, thinks that it must justify its appointment by making an elaborate report. But members of the organization will not listen to elaborate reports; they come to the annual meeting for things more interesting than a recital of statistics, so they simply vote that the committee may have "leave to print," but with the proviso that the printing shall be at no cost to the organization nor shall the association stand committed to the expressions of opinion or suggestions contained. That is just what happened in the present instance. The result is the publication of a volume which implies upon its title-page the sponsorship of the American Political Science Association but tucks into the last paragraph of its preface an intimation that this body assumes no responsibility at all.

As to the soundness or otherwise of the committee's suggestions for the improvement of instruction in American government, there is room for legitimate difference of opinion. But there can be no two opinions on the proposition that a body of such standing as the American Political Science Association should not lend its imprint to a report which puts into twenty-two pages so many bibliographical crudities and inaccuracies as this volume has managed to do. The data included in the bulky tables (pp. 141-183) and in the other portions of the book may be more trustworthy, it is true; but in the pages that precede there is quite enough slovenliness to make the reader skeptical.

The Psychology of Religion

The Psychology of Religion. By George Albert Coe. University of Chicago Press. $1.50 net.

THE psychology of religion is about as old as the twentieth century, and a dozen or more professional psychologists have written books, as well as articles, upon it. It forms a part of the curriculum of many universities and theological seminaries. Yet—if we except Cutten's "popular" and unscientific work, "The Psychological Phenomena of Christianity," and Snowden's recent and equally unscientific "Psychology of Religion"—no attempt until now has been made by any competent scholar to write an adequate textbook on the subject. There was therefore a real need for the sort of work which Professor Coe has performed. And perhaps no one else could have done it so well. He has been one of the most fruitful contributors towards the new science ever since its birth, having already written two books and a large number of articles on various aspects of the subject, and he brings to his task not only extensive learning, but a sound judgment and the ability to see the various parts of his field in due perspective. Some one has said that the writer of a successful textbook must be a little dull, and in this respect, too, Professor Coe has shown some ability; for he has yielded to none of the temptations of the merely interesting, and has deliberately adopted a somewhat prosaic style and a purely didactic method. This, of course, means a loss to the general reader, though it may be a gain to the serious student.

But, while Professor Coe's aim is to expound the facts and theories of his subject in didactic rather than in controversial fashion, he is far from being a mere compiler of other men's results. He has decidedly a point of view of his own, and in his preface he states what this is in unusually explicit fashion, so that the reader may be able to discount it in advance if he so desires. Not many readers will find much in it to discount. Professor Coe recognizes fully the right of psychology to investigate all religious phenomena in a purely disinterested, empirical, and undogmatic fashion; and on the other hand he admits frankly that the religious enterprise is to him the most important undertaking in life, and he makes no secret of the fact that he is himself a religious man and that he means to look at religion from the inside as well as from without.

A really fruitful and trustworthy psychological study of religion must, in Professor Coe's opinion, concern itself chiefly with function rather than with structure. And a truly functional psychology will find it impossible to deal with religion unless it insists upon retaining the category of personality. A structural psychology which pays attention only to mental elements will never find religion at all. "The supposed obscurity of the notion of personal selves is not native to this concept—the obscurity has been imported into it by attempting to construe the more clear (or socially communicable desires and purposes) in terms of the less clear (animal life that lacks means of communication). Human functions are just what they seem to be from a fully achieved human point of view. Functional psychology, accordingly, should be, first and foremost, a psychology of personal self-realizations. The functional psychology of religion must have this above all things else."

But "persons" are not pure "substances" of the mediæval type; they are inextricably bound up with their fellows. The self is a part of society and society a part of the self. For Professor Coe, therefore, religion that is not social is unthinkable. In fact, religion is just a revaluing of values which is inevitably social in its nature. As such it is indistinguishable from morality if the latter term be taken in its broadest meaning. In a sense the whole of Professor Coe's book is an attempt to apply to all recognized religious phenomena this fundamental conception. "We are discovering ourselves through the reintegration of our wants in terms of personal-social self-realization. And this is religion." Professor Coe's attitude thus recalls that of Professor Ames, though he never carries it to the extremes of the Ames-King School. It is plain that this view of religion is very fruitful in suggestiveness and insight. It has limitations, however—limitations which, quite unguessed by Professor Ames, seem at times to arouse an uneasy conscience in Professor Coe, in spite of his manful attempts to turn his attention elsewhere. For religion, as actually found in history and in large numbers of our contemporaries, has a certain *cosmic*, rather than social, quality, which, indeed, Professor Coe does not wholly ignore, but to which he gives very slight recognition. As Marcel Hébert has pointed out in his carefully written work "Le Divin," to many a deeply religious soul the religious object is of an impersonal nature. Especially is this true of the leaders of one of the most religious branches of the race, namely, the Indian—a fact so patent that Professor Coe

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himself is unable entirely to disregard it. Nor can it be said that in the scant page which he devotes to the question he has succeeded in explaining away this awkward fact. His attempt to do so indicates only an inadequate understanding of the true nature of Indian religion; and indeed his references to the Indians throughout the book reveal but a superficial knowledge of that very significant race. Again, from the rather unappreciative chapter on Mysticism—probably the weakest chapter in the book—the reader receives once more the impression that Professor Coe's definition of religion is one-sided, and has left out a certain cosmic sense which, in spite of all our theories of the importance of the social, has played a very large part in man's religion.

But enough has been said in criticism of this excellent and useful book. As a contribution to our knowledge it has not, of course, the originality and insight of James's "Varieties," the massive collection of empirical facts to be found in Starbuck's "Psychology of Religion," or the elaborate psychological analyses presented in some of the work of Leuba or of Delacroix. But it covers the whole field as no other book has ever done, and as a summary of the psychology of religion at the close of its first twenty years of independence, it marks a distinct forward step, and opens the way, as one may well hope, to more fruitful investigations during the next twenty.

Venetian Painting

Venetian Painting in America: The 15th Century. By Bernard Berenson. With 110 cuts. New York: Frederic Fairchild Sherman. $4 net.

READERS of Mr. Berenson's articles on Early Venetians in American Collections in *Art in America* will be delighted to have the series somewhat amplified and in book form. Of his attractive task Mr. Berenson has made a joyous adventure, writing always with the gusto of liking or of misliking. Incidentally he has launched theories of important general scope, as when he begins the independent activity of Gentile and Giovanni Bellini only after their father's death, 1470. Thus it would be a story of retarded development in the case of these great half-brothers. The view requires a considerable revision of accepted chronology, but has much to commend it. It seems to involve regarding the early Giovannis of the type of the mystical Christs of the Louvre and National Gallery as studio pieces executed by Giovanni under his father's direction. We see no real difficulty in such a position.

The obvious importance of this book lies in its display of the surprising richness of America in Early Venetian painting. All told, something like 150 pictures are recorded, ranging from Gothic-Byzantine examples of the fourteenth century to masters, like Catena and Bartolommeo Veneto, who prelude Giorgione. Twenty years ago possibly ten of these pictures were owned in America. Not more. The mere figures are eloquent. Of that tense and fastidious designer in tempera and gold, Carlo Crivelli, there are some ten pictures in America. Of that extremely rare master, Antonello da Messina, there are two portraits, in the Johnson and Altman collections. By the greatest master of the period, Giovanni Bellini, there are no less than eight pictures, including such *chefs d'œuvre* as the Madonnas of the Lehman and Willys collections, and Mr. Frick's idyllically lovely St. Francis. There are besides seven early copies of lost pictures by Giovanni. The list becomes less rich as one proceeds, though six Montagnas, seven Cimas, and five Catenas are surely notable items. The great gaps are in the Venetian narrative painters. We have as yet nothing that fairly represents the panoramic vein of Gentile Bellini and Carpaccio, though of the latter the Metropolitan Museum possesses a unique tragic masterpiece in the Dead Christ.

Alike for enjoyment and for minute consideration of attributions and chronology the book must be read widely. Thanks are due the publisher for making what must have been a pretty costly book accessible at a price possible for students. Rather than discuss details, it seems best to your reviewer to make from his own notes certain additions looking to a second edition. In such a book it is quite impossible to make a clean sweep, yet it is odd that Mr. Berenson should omit the fine portrait of a cardinal in the possession of the estate of Charles Eliot Norton, since the correct attribution was first established by Mr. Berenson himself as Bartolommeo Veneto. Mr. Stanley Mortimer, at Roslyn, L. I., owns the finest and largest example of the sidewise Madonna usually ascribed to Bartolommeo. Mr. Berenson makes the interesting suggestion that this popular design may echo a lost composition by Gentile Bellini. Mr. Mortimer's picture is worth considering as the putative original. Mr. John D. McIlhenny, of Philadelphia, has a little *predella* piece very close to Giambono in style; while the book was at press the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass., bought a dainty little Madonna by that rarest of masters, Jacobello del Fiore. About the same time the Volpi collection was sold in New York. It supplied to our purpose a winsome Rondinello, a male portrait ascribed to Basaiti, and a much repainted but lovely Madonna with Angels, ascribed falsely to Gentile da Fabriano, but clearly growing out of a Venetian *milieu:* Jacopo Bellini or Antonio da Negroponte.

Notes

PUBLICATIONS of the Yale University Press during March are announced as follows: "Studies in the Problem of Sovereignty," by Harold J. Laski; "The Life and Poetry of James Thomson," by J. Edward Meeker; "The Poems and Amyntas of Thomas Randolph," by John J. Parry.

"Poems by Heine," by Louis Untermeyer, is published to-day by Henry Holt & Company.

Frederick A. Stokes Company announces for publication during April "Our Hidden Forces," by Emil Boirac; "I, Mary MacLane," by Mary MacLane, and "The Russians: An Interpretation," by Richardson Wright.

The following volumes will be published during the present month by the Century Company: "Short Rations: An American Woman in Germany," by Madeleine Z. Doty; "The Stingy Receiver," by Eleanor Hallowell Abbott; "Aurora the Magnificent," by Gertrude Hall; "The Plattsburg Manual," by O. O. Ellis and E. B. Garey; "Trails Sunward," by Cale Young Rice, and "The Red Rugs of Tarsus," by Helen Davenport Gibbons.

MARCH publications by E. P. Dutton & Company include "Woman," by Vance Thompson; "Idle Days in

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Patagonia," by W. H. Hudson; "Twenty Minutes of Reality" (anonymous), and "If Wishes Were Horses," by Countess Barcynska.

Announcements of forthcoming volumes by the Macmillan Company include: "Correspondence of John Henry Newman with Keble and Others—1839 to 1845," edited at the Birmingham Oratory; "Jan Smuts," by N. Levi; "French Windows," by John Ayscough; "A Russian Gentleman," by Serge Aksakoff, translated by J. D. Duff; "The Italian Orders of Architecture," by Charles Gourlay; "International Conventions and Third States," by Ronald F. Roxburgh.

WE are requested to announce that the twenty-first annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science will be held in Philadelphia on Friday and Saturday, April 20 and 21. The meeting will be devoted to consideration of the general question of "America's Relation to the World Conflict and the Coming Peace," in connection with which the following questions will be discussed; "America's Obligation as the Defender of International Right" in connection with (a) Citizens of Neutral Countries on the High Seas, (b) Neutral Commerce with Belligerents, (c) The Freedom of the Seas; "The Elements of a Just and Durable Peace"; "The Problems of a Durable Peace"—(a) The Balkan Situation, (b) The Status of Turkey, with special reference to Constantinople, (c) The Rights of Small Nations; "America's Participation in a League for the Maintenance of a Just and Durable Peace"—(a) As Affecting the Position of the United States on the American Continent, (b) As Affecting America's Traditional Policy of Isolation and Avoidance of Entangling Alliances.

NOT a biography in the ordinary sense, but an account of the personality and work of the late head of Tuskegee Institute, arranged without regard to chronology, but under various topical headings, "Booker T. Washington: Builder of a Civilization" (Doubleday, Page; $2 net) is the result of a collaboration between Emmett J. Scott, for eighteen years Washington's secretary, and Lyman Beecher Stowe. The volume takes little account of Washington's childhood, early training, and education, assuming that the reader is familiar with the autobiographical "Up from Slavery." It begins its treatment with the founding of Tuskegee, and nine-tenths of the book concerns Washington's career subsequent to his famous address at the Cotton States and International Exposition at Atlanta in 1895. Each chapter, treating some phase of his life, is complete in itself, and some readers may account it a fault that the book has an appearance of incoherence. But it is not merely readable, but interesting; not merely an accurate portrait of the negro leader, but a vivid one with plenty of psychological detail; not merely a comprehensive statement of the racial and religious problems he set himself to solve, but one which shows the writers' understanding of the delicate and trying details of that problem. The volume falls into two fairly clear parts, one treating of Washington as active head of the ambitious and growing institute, the other of him as performing the vast, ill-defined duties of leader and mouthpiece of his race. Washington's understanding of his task at Tuskegee as rather an economic than a pedagogical or theological one is dwelt upon as—next, of course, to his natural abilities, his courage and persistent energy—the prime cause of his success there. At the same time, he is pictured as something of a Dr. Arnold of his race, dwelling as a teacher upon the personal habits of industry, cleanliness, integrity, and right-mindedness that make up character; and liberal quotations from his talks to the students and his reports to the trustees illustrate his methods. Washington's success as a leader is traced to his highly practical sense of what was expedient in bettering the relations between whites and blacks, as opposed to what might have been right in abstract principle, but inexpedient; and to his common-sense ability in exhorting the negro to send roots down into the soil or the business community, to stop migrating, to acquire property. What interests us is not the account of how Washington spoke at this or that Northern meeting, wrote for this or that magazine, met Prince Henry at a reception, or dined with the Danish King. It is the account of how he got close to his own people, ill-educated, ragged, shiftless, and despised, and, by long speech-making tours, by writing, and by personal conversation, gave them true ambitions and true ideals; and how, at the same time, hated by cranks, negrophobes, and those of his race who wanted to begin at the top, struggling against obstacles hard to conceive, he interested first a few and then many of the white race in his moderate programme. This is amply told in chapters on The Rights of the Negro, Meeting Race Prejudice, Booker Washington and the Negro Farmer, and Booker Washington and the Negro Business Man.

THE period between 1542, when the Portuguese first landed in Japan, and 1651, when the empire was finally sealed to the outer world, has been handled at length by Murdoch and Yamagata in their "History of Japan During the Century of Early Foreign Intercourse." One of the characters who naturally occupies a prominent place in the story is William Adams, the English pilot, who won the confidence of the great Iyeyasu, and, until the latter's death in 1616, was consulted on every question affecting the foreign policy of the empire. There has just appeared, reprinted from The Transactions of the Japan Society of London, the "Log-Book of William Adams, 1614-1619." He has hitherto been currently referred to as "Will Adams," but it now appears that he wrote his Christian name either in full, or with the contraction "Wm." A street in the very centre of Tokio, the capital chosen and planned by his patron, is to-day called Anjin-chō or "Pilot Street" after this sagacious Englishman from Kent. His grave, situated among the hills not very far from the place where Commodore Perry landed in 1853, was discovered over fifty years ago by an English resident of Yokohama. This log-book of his, ably edited by Mr. Purnell, of the London Library, came in some unknown way into the possession of Sir Henry Savile, and was bequeathed with the rest of the scholarly knight's library to the Bodleian at Oxford, remaining unnoticed until the year 1905. Unfortunately, the log-book covers only two years of the time when Adams was in the confidence of Iyeyasu. He survived the ex-Shōgun four years, and thus the document ends the year before his death, when he had completed twenty years in the land of his adoption. Adams arrived in a Dutch vessel as pilot, at a time when the relations between the two Protestant nations, styled "rebels" and "pirates," respectively, by the orthodox Spaniards, were friendly. Towards the close of his life, however, a bitter jealousy was grow-

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ing up, and the massacre of Amboyna in 1623, when Englishmen and Japanese were murdered together down in the Spice Islands, definitely closed this period of friendliness. Recent investigations into Mexican documents, particularly those relating to the prolonged visit of Vizcaino to Japan, in search of mythical Gold and Silver Islands, make it necessary to revise material depending entirely on Jesuit accounts. In the Introduction, Mr. Purnell mentions the fact that in 1611 Iyeyasu consulted with Adams "with regard to the desire of the Spaniards to make soundings in the harbors of Japan." This was Vizcaino's gold-hunting voyage in the San Francisco, Don Sotomayor being its leader, who called as ambassador on the ex-Shōgun at Shidzuoka, and demanded the expulsion of the Hollanders —a demand peremptorily refused. Charlevoix, quoted by Mr. Purnell as authority for his statement regarding the visit of the Spaniards, makes the mistake of calling Vizcaino ambassador, a post beyond his social rank. There is a field here for the historian of the Pacific Coast, who can make use of Mexican and Philippine records for correction and amplification.

AS all modern writers on Texas history base their work on Henderson Yoakum, so we may predict that future interpreters of our Mexican relations will be indebted to George Lockhart Rives. Mr. Farnham Bishop frankly tells us that *he* is ("Our First War in Mexico"; Scribner; $1.25 net), and frequently reiterates his obligation. He also acknowledges his indebtedness to other well-known narratives, especially Grant's "Memoirs," and occasionally to so valued a source as Polk's "Diary." He devotes five chapters, about a fourth of the book, to an indifferent sketch of early Southwestern history. In this difficult, because unduly brief, summary he makes many slips in chronology and fact, to say nothing of interpretation. Yet he mentions some names and events that may tempt the reader to further study. An occasional description, notably those devoted to the fall of the Alamo and the battle of San Jacinto, give a pleasing vividness to his otherwise compressed narrative. The remainder of the book, devoted to the war itself, profits from the author's own experience in the National Guard. The events of the present moment lead him to give his narrative a practical turn. He describes battles at some length, with details regarding numbers, accoutrement, munitions, and service that permit comparisons with present conditions. He treats the Mexicans fairly, and attributes their political and military demoralization to the easy success of the Americans. The same cause serves to obscure the utter unpreparedness of the latter; but he uses that situation to point a present moral. For this reason his volume smacks more of militarism than of sympathy for a deluded but high-spirited opponent, and will do little to prevent a second war, which, however, he devoutly hopes will never come to pass.

FABRE'S "Life of the Caterpillar" (Dodd, Mead; $1.50 net), the first volume of his to appear since the naturalist's death, is the sixth in the series of admirable translations by Alexander Teixeira De Mattos. It includes all of the thirteen essays on butterflies and moths in the "Souvenirs entomologiques," also "The Cabbage Caterpillar," the last essay but one written by Fabre—as fascinating a study as almost any in all his volumes. With unflagging enthusiasm and vivacity, he chats amiably to the reader, setting forth the most intricate of nature's marvels with a lucidity and simplicity that are all but unique in scientific writing. The following is an interesting comment on the cabbage caterpillar's trick of devouring the wrapper of the egg from which he has just emerged:

> It is the first time that I have seen a larva make a meal of the sack in which it was born. Of what use can this singular fare be to the budding caterpillar? I suspect as follows: the leaves of the cabbage are waxed and slippery surfaces and nearly always slant considerably. To graze on them without risking a fall, which would be fatal in earliest childhood, is hardly possible unless with moorings that afford a steady support. What is needed is bits of silk stretched along the road as fast as progress is made. . . . The silk-tubes, where those moorings are manufactured, must be very scantily supplied in a tiny, new-born animal; and it is expedient that they be filled without delay with the aid of a special form of nourishment. Then what shall the nature of the first food be? Vegetable matter, slow to elaborate and niggardly in its yield, does not fulfil the desired conditions at all well, for time presses and we must trust ourselves safely to the slippery leaf. An animal diet would be preferable; it is easier to digest and undergoes chemical changes in a shorter time. The wrapper of the egg is of a horny nature, as silk itself is. It will not take long to transform the one into the other. The grub, therefore, tackles the remains of its egg and turns it into silk to carry with it on its first journeys.

THE sixth volume of "The Historical Bible," by C. F. Kent, of Yale, bears the title "The Work and Teachings of the Apostles" (Scribner). Like its predecessors, it is admirably adapted to serve as a textbook in Bible classes at school or college. An additional volume is promised on "The Social Teachings of the Prophets and Jesus."

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The Ungentle Reader

A LIVELY legend, attached to an old playhouse in a Southern city, and perhaps to many another, relates that a mighty company of barn-stormers, infuriated by the hisses and cat-calls of a tiny audience, rushed forth from the wings in full strength and drove out of doors with their threats the last of their persecutors. The same story may be narrated of the chief actors upon the stage of our English literature three hundred years ago, be it poetry or prose, novel or drama—but with this essential difference: the Elizabethan did not merely retaliate upon criticism, he breezily anticipated it. He struck first and struck hard. No sooner had he made his reverent bow to the patron in the lord's box and jauntily tossed a compliment to the little claque of enthusiastic well-wishers at the stage-front than he devoted vehement attention to the potential critic. Before the least suggestion of discontent in the audience, mettlesome Thomas Lodge—the same Lodge that provides Shakespeare with one of his best-known plots—flaunts the chip on his shoulder in the fiery preface to "A Fig for Momus": "Sheep are soonest worried by cur dogs, because they are mild, but he that nips soundly him that bites him cowardly purchaseth his own peace and escapes much peril."

Many a one of Lodge's notable friends thus "purchaseth his own peace," after the manner of militant pacifism, by a jargon of objurgation, at once so picturesque and so comprehensive that, compared with its mouth-filling bombast, the Curse of Ernulphus seems a monitory shaking of a mother's finger, and the most lurid invectives of up-to-date partisanship a wet-feathered clucking. Before the ungentle reader can open his supposedly poisonous lips, he is dubbed "an envious windsucker," "a mad dog raging against all men," "a squint-eyed ass," "a swollen toad"; and the unhappy race of reviewers becomes in turn "the swinish crew of railing Zoilus and flouting Momus, to whom it is easier to deprave all things than to amend anything themselves"; "a dungy, muddy scum of abject thoughts and envy and raging hate"; "a crab-faced cankered carlish chuff, within whose hateful breasts malice bides, rancor broils and endless envy rests"; "common torturers that bring all wit to the rack, whose noses are ever like swine, spoiling and rooting up the Muses' gardens, and their whole bodies like moles, as blindly working under earth to cast any hills upon virtue." The last phrases are sturdy Ben Jonson's own; and with the like scurrilous revilements of the critic rail other Titans—Chapman, Marston, William Browne, and their peers. Anticipatory abuse of the critical reader soon hardens into a literary tradition.

"I am not a hero, but a regular," said one of our army officers not so very long ago. The Elizabethan, if we bar craftsmen of the dramatic guild, is not a regular, but a hero, not so much a member of an established order as a roving soldier of fortune, seeking his own glory in the lofty fashion of the heroic age. To one who approaches him from the vantage-ground of that far-off time, his emotions, ever aired with a primitive unrestraint, are reminiscently familiar. His windy quarrels with his fellows have been rightly likened to "flytings"—those running exchanges of virulent personalities that spiced the mead in the early Germanic hall. And his boastings are more heroic still, for, like the boar-helmed hero, he has all the merits save modesty. His tremendous vauntings are inspired, as the "gabs" of old, by arrogant pride in his accomplishment. A shrinking mediævalism had, during many diffident generations, sent forth its "little books" with formal apology for their rudeness and lack of fair language. No more of such craven pusillanimity! In these new days of print the heir of the invention goes blusteringly forth, unhampered by any doubt of its own worth. "By God, 'tis good, and if you like't, you may!" And, if you do not like it, so much the worse, not for me, the author, but for you and your venomous tongue of foul-mouthed detraction! Beowulf's stinging rebuke to the envious Unferth, who decries his deeds, is in far closer accord with the Tudor way of feeling than that modern deference to criticism which prompts even so uncritical a writer as Cecil Chesterton to ask Bernard Shaw to review "The Perils of Peace," "because [in Mr. Shaw's words] I do not agree with it, and am beyond all suspicion of having any venal reasons for hesitating to say so." To the Elizabethan writer, the "judicious" or "judicial reader" is one who has judgment enough to perceive and proclaim the author's transcendent virtues.

A yet loftier disdain of the critic is begotten by the author's confident assurance of enduring fame. Here the heroic spirit invokes the aid of classical formulas; and the mortal puts on immortality amid the blare of Horatian and Ovidian trumpets. So Spenser makes a "Calender," "that steel in strength and time in durance shall outwear." Envy is the chief foe to such renown as this; and to toil after that which produces envy in life, but glory after death, is deemed even by the Middle Ages sure proof of an elevated mind. To the higher-soaring ambition of the Renaissance, fame-hating envy seems to assume bodily form in the newly arrived person of the critic, now feebly groping in a world not fully realized, and speaking in but faint accents. Hence the "raging, roaring wrath," kindled by the slightest disparagement in men who, playing for stakes that were of all time, took themselves and their worth far more seriously than is ever our wont. Let the author accept as an abiding conviction the view that any depreciation of his "monumentum aere perennius" is dictated not by honest difference of opinion, but by fiendish malevolence, and he will inevitably strive to disarm criticism, not through gentleness, but with sword and bludgeon. Let me again cite Thomas Lodge—this time the "Address to the Gentlemen Readers" that prefaces his "Rosalynde": "If Momus or any squint-eyed ass that hath mighty ears to conceive with Midas, and yet little reason to judge; if he come aboard our bark to find fault with the tackling, when he knows not the shrouds, I'll down into the hold and fetch out a rusty pole-ax that saw no sun this seven year, and either well baste him or heave the coxcomb overboard to feed cods." It is evidently the reviewer, not the writer, who stands in danger of being "snuffed out by one critique."

To the shafts of the ungentle reader, the Elizabethan opposes not only the bulwark of his own scorn, but yet other barriers. He invokes the noble lord or lady, his patron, "to defend him against the ravening jaws of envious backbiters who never cease by all unlawful means to blemish and deface the works of learned, expert, and well-disposed persons." Under the shadow of this sheltering wing, the aspirant for fame will rest secure from barking envy. Another recourse of the hounded man of genius is the admiring friend of his own or lesser rank, ever as

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sturdy a champion of injured merit as Shelley of the fame of Keats. Indeed, the savage diatribes of the "Adonais" against slaughterous reviewers are in that very Cambyses vein of abuse dear to the critic-baiter in Elizabethan sonnets of eulogy. If we may believe these too partial admirers, "venomed spite, with her black soul, dares not behold such radiance" and "abortive snips of skill gnash their teeth in vain." And others of the sensitive race of writers boast a far more potent protector. There is, it seems, a Jahveh of literary battles, and he is on their side. Woe to the critical Philistines!

> Though Momus rage and Zoilus carp,
> I fear them not at all.
> The Lord, my God, in whom I trust,
> Shall cause them soon to fall.

Such faith as that is no longer found in Israel.

FREDERICK TUPPER

Notes from the Capital

Felix Frankfurter

ANY one who looked in at the Supreme Court chamber a few weeks ago, while the two cases involving the constitutionality of the Oregon labor laws were undergoing reargument, saw that august tribunal intently listening to the plea of a small, dark, smooth-faced lawyer, mostly head, eyes, and glasses, who looked as if he might have stepped out of the sophomore classroom of a neighboring college. As a matter of fact, he had just stepped out of a classroom, for he was Professer Felix Frankfurter of the Harvard Law School, and his mode of address indicated that he had merely exchanged one group of pupils for another. He lectured the court quietly, but with a due sense of its indebtedness to him for setting it right where it had been wrong, and giving it positive opinions where uncertainty had been clouding its mental vision. He was becomingly tolerant when the gray-haired learners asked questions which seemed to him unnecessary, and gentle when he had to correct a mistaken assumption. But he knew just what he was there for and never allowed the court to labor under any other impression; nor was he ever for a moment unconscious that he had sat for years at the feet of Gamaliel Brandeis and become his understudy in the handling of cases of the character of these from Oregon till he had acquired the methods of his principal, albeit without his striking personality. Brandeis would have attended to this reargument himself but for his appointment to the bench, and now, having been the active counsellor and advocate of many litigants seeking what is known as industrial justice, he will be practically disqualified for any part in shaping the course of the court through this recently opened field.

The existing social situation must be an interesting one for Frankfurter, in view of his own career. He is a Hebrew by blood, an Austrian by nativity, an adopted citizen of a country to which he was brought in 1894 at the age of twelve. Knowing no word of English when he arrived on our shores, after eight years in the common schools and the free College of the City of New York he carried off his bachelor's degree with special honors; so he need not go outside of his own experience to realize how well the United States has earned its fame as the home of opportunity. Some years spent in the employ of the Tenement House Department of the city government gave him a chance to observe at close range the conditions with which the local poor had to contend. At the Harvard Law School, where he prepared for the bar, he was deeply stirred by the movement which had already set in for modernizing the law of the land and adapting it to the changes which had come over the life of the people through the introduction into all branches of industry of mechanical devices and systems of organization undreamed of by the framers of our older legislation. To Henry L. Stimson, probably more than to any other one man, Frankfurter owes his start in the larger world outside of the city of his first residence. As United States District Attorney in New York, Stimson was charged with the conduct of some of the most important prosecutions undertaken by the Federal Government in the early years of the present century, and to his aid he summoned a handful of clever young lawyers, selecting only men whose sympathies, as well as their talents, would be enlisted in their work. The Morse and the Heintze cases and the sugar-weighing frauds were among those in which Frankfurter had a chance to try his mettle; and when his chief was called to Washington to administer the War Department, he was taken along to be made legal adviser for the Bureau of Insular Affairs. It was quite natural that a young man thus trained should have become the friend and associate of older thinkers of the school of Brandeis, Mack, and Florence Kelly, and that, when Brandeis exchanged his barrister's gown for a judicial robe, Frankfurter should have fallen heir to his specialty in practice.

The line on which the young reformer proceeds with his work is not the less revolutionary because of its moderation of method. His radicalism has never brought him to the point of discrediting the courts or of terrorizing the judiciary with a menace of recall; but he is firm in his belief that, as the courts continually recognize the part scientific discovery plays in remoulding the mechanical side of life, so they should recognize also its importance on the human side; that all the world's progress has been made over a path of experiment, and hence that the courts ought to encourage that progress by always giving the benefit of a doubt to the efforts of the statute-makers to ameliorate hard conditions of labor and living, thus leaving a way open for subjecting a novel law to a practical test of its excellence instead of condemning it in advance on hypothetical assumptions or for reasons based wholly on the experience of an earlier generation. In other words, though admonitions and prohibitions are wasted on the unburnt child, the child who has once felt the smart may be trusted thereafter to keep its fingers out of the fire. This idea will not appeal very strongly to those economists who are appalled at the cost of experimentation in defiance of facts which they believe point surely towards disaster; it appears to them too much like hanging one's self to see whether strangulation is really a desirable means of inflicting the death penalty.

Frankfurter has seemed, on past occasions, to exert a sort of fascination upon Justices Holmes and Hughes. His most marked characteristics, on the surface, are his freedom of speech and manner, his agile motions, and his habitual good humor of expression. Whatever he wishes he asks for without hesitancy, for he foresees no reasons why it should be refused. His racial heritage is stamped on his face, and his idealism also—a combination of such frequency, by the way, that we of these later days have ceased to wonder at it.

TATTLER

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East and West on the Stage

STUDENTS of the drama, rash to generalize the phenomena of each season, will be concluding that the stage is keeping pace with the war in bringing the East and West together. The enthusiastic reception given to the revival of "The Yellow Jacket," to Lord Dunsany's "Gods of the Mountain," to "Bushido" when presented by the Washington Square Players, and now to "The Willow Tree," all in the course of a few months, and the perennial success of the opera "Madama Butterfly," are indeed tokens of the interest felt in the Orient. The question is whether such plays are beginning to have a less exotic flavor than the several dramatic presentations of Eastern fancy which, since "The Mikado," have preceded them. A part of the attention to this sphere may confidently be set down as a recognition of the East's adaptability to the spectacular; thus "The Darling of the Gods," "The Garden of Allah," "Sumurun," and "Omar the Tentmaker." And in the same class may be put "The Wanderer," that prodigious spectacle, this season, at the Manhattan Opera House, which depicts what may, by a big stretch of the imagination, have been the adventures of the Prodigal Son. Here such episodes as the homecoming of the ninety-nine sheep and the rescue of the one sick lamb, or as the riot of Oriental splendor in the second act, have manifestly been sought after less to emphasize the present rapprochement of East and West than to demonstrate the virtuosity of a stage manager.

Yet by going back to that once popular trifle, "The Sultan of Sulu," it is possible to recognize the great change that has come over us. This piece corresponded in a measure with the civilization which was reflected by accounts of returning American pioneers in the Orient—travelling agents, who in odd moments drew rough contrasts of the life there and here. It is pretty certain that if shows like this were given to-day their outlook, with due allowance made for extravagance on the stage, would appear too grotesque to be interesting. In all this it is probable that the literature of Russia has served as a useful intermediary, through its special quality of fancy as through its realism. So the Western audience that saw "Bushido" could hardly have failed to view its unsparing actuality with the perspective given by a growing acquaintance with Russian realists.

And now comes "The Willow Tree, a Fantasy of Japan," by Benrimo and Harrison Rhodes, which handles a legend of Old Japan with considerable understanding of its special significance. Owing in part no doubt to the skill of the authors, but also to the change of attitude which we have noted, this gossamer creation is followed by the audience with no show of scorn for its tender fancy. Edward Hamilton, played by Shelley Hull, having been refused by the girl of his choice in England, has settled himself in the garden house of a fellow-countryman in Japan and there adopts the dress and religion of the place. From an aged image-maker, still clinging to the beliefs of the older generation, he has ordered a life-sized goddess for his house. This is the aged Tomatada's masterpiece, and like Pygmalion he has became enamoured of his handiwork, hoping that the gods may reward his skill by bestowing the breath of life. Accepting half credulously an old tradition that a mirror is the soul of woman and may, if placed on the breast of an image, quicken to life, Hamilton is repaid for his pains by seeing his goddess, who is in reality the soul of an overshadowing willow tree, descend from her throne and enter into his heart and home. Here only the delicacy of the treatment, as this woman, innocent of worldly ways, gradually gains the strong elemental emotions, saves the drama from being farcical. But it is decreed that if ever the willow tree is chopped down, she shall resume her former habitation, and this she herself brings about when Hamilton, on receiving news of the outbreak of the present war, decides to forego his duty to country because of his love for her. With her, however, love includes sacrifice of self to the higher promptings of patriotism. And so he finds himself with the lifeless image and with the determination to sail for England. The inference is that he will be joined with his first love, who, having repented of her decision, has sought him out in Japan, there to discover him committed to an Oriental. Yet the soul of woman is not confined by geographical boundaries, and it is implied that the image and the English girl, both of whom are daintily played by Miss Fay Bainter, are, if not the same, in some mysterious way completely akin. The image has all along been the idealization of his earthly love.

It is recounted that some years ago a Japanese agent came to America bringing the choicest wares, but that after landing and becoming conscious of the small understanding of the spirit of the East here, he took his boxes back unopened, fearing to offend his ancestors by leaving these objects where they would be so little appreciated. But those were days before an American and an Oriental author, and not least an American audience, had learned to coöperate sympathetically on an airy legend of Old Japan.

F.

The Kneisel Quartet

LIKE a bombshell from a Zeppelin came the announcement last Friday that the Kneisel Quartet would cease to exist after this season. It has been for a number of years so important and desirable a feature of New York's musical life that only the announcement of the exit of the Metropolitan Opera or the Philharmonic Orchestra could have created more of a sensation or caused more profound regret. Just ten years ago the Kneisel Quartet came near dissolution. As concert-master of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, Mr. Kneisel had occasionally conducted that great organization when Gericke or Nikisch was indisposed. He was particularly successful with Beethoven's ninth symphony, one of the most difficult of all works to interpret. He also conducted the Boston Orchestra at the Chicago World's Fair, in 1893; and when the Philadelphia Orchestra found itself without a leader, it naturally called upon him. He was inclined to accept, and it was only through the urgent appeals of lovers of chamber music that he was prevented from changing his sphere.

For a whole decade more his admirable oganization was thus preserved, but now it is to go. A circular has been sent to the subscribers which says: "The last concert of this season's series by the Kneisel Quartet in New York, which will occur on April 3, will mark the completion of twenty-five years of the organization's activity in New York and of thirty-two years of uninterrupted labor in behalf of

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chamber music in the United States." Probably no organization in the world playing chamber music, except the Joachim-De Ahna Quartet, has enjoyed greater success during so long a period. At first, of course, there were deficits, but these deficits were met like those of the Boston Orchestra, of which the Kneisel players were members, by the generous Major Higginson. After eighteen years of faithful service with this orchestra as concert-master, Mr. Kneisel set up for himself, with Louis Svécenski (who has been his partner ever since), Julius Theodorowicz, and Alwin Schroeder, because he felt that the high ideals of chamber music called for an exclusive devotion.

Few persons realize how much hard work even the very best musicians must go through in order to give high-class concerts like those of the Kneisel Quartet. The members spent their summers together at Blue Hill, Maine, where they planned their programmes for the coming season and daily rehearsed several hours. In the case of an opera it is possible to overdo the rehearsing (Mr. Toscanini was wont to do this) because voices tire and the performances are consequently less good than they would have been; but hands can endure more than throats, and it was to this plentiful practice as much as to the artistic ability of the players themselves that the Kneisel Quartet owed its triumphs. These were won not only in Boston and New York and other American cities—the Quartet often went on long tours—but in Europe, too, where organizations of chamber music equal to them are few and far between.

In the circular sent to the subscribers Mr. Kneisel says: "The desire that the high standard which has been before us from the beginning should not be permitted to suffer depreciation has of late years been a cause of great concern to me, and the responsibility has become a burden; so great a burden, indeed, that I have reluctantly come to the decision to end the career of the Kneisel Quartet with the last concert of this season." As Rafael Joseffy, on retiring, much too soon, from a public career, became an instructor, so Mr. Kneisel will continue his activity as teacher. There are other first-class organizations of a similar type in the country, headed by the Flonzaleys and the Olive Mead Quartet and the Margulies Trio; but the Kneisels have held a place of their own and will be grievously missed. The American music-world must ever remain their debtors.

HENRY T. FINCK

Finance

Financial Response to the Action of Washington

THE President's call for an extra session of Congress five weeks hence, his announcement of his lawful right to arm our merchant ships in advance of that date, and the simultaneous news that this action will be taken immediately, became known after the close of business last Friday. That the decisions had distinctly cleared the air, and that they would be as well received on the financial markets as in the country generally, very few people doubted. The action of the Stock Exchange next day, in the further rise of prices, was a direct response.

No doubt, there will be movements in the opposite direction, during the period of uncertainty which surrounds the epoch-making situation now before us. Even this week, the advance did not continue without interruption. There were, however, two considerations underlying the market's immediate response. One was the general expectation that demands on our industrial output would be increased in the event of actual war. But quite aside from this, as an influence on the markets, was the feeling, in which Wall Street was at one with prevalent opinion elsewhere in the country, that a wholly untenable and impossible situation had been created by Germany's latest proclamation. If even Wall Street had needed any further reminder as to what that situation meant, it would have found it Saturday morning in the cabled interview with Germany's Foreign Secretary, calmly asserting that the neutral states "will serve themselves best if their shipping stays at home."

Dr. Zimmermann's suggestion, frank if not entirely tactful, was bound up with the argument that we should need this embargoed shipping when the war was over. As to that, the American Government and our shipping industry are perhaps as capable of judging as is the German Government. The outstanding fact, emphasized by this declaration, was that our present choice lay between conducting our foreign trade under explicit orders from Berlin, or providing for the defence of our merchant ships in lawful commerce. The alternative was distinct and unmistakable.

Along with last week's announcements from the White House came another official declaration, of great interest in its bearing on the financial situation at this particular juncture. In correcting emphatically the mistaken popular interpretation of its November bulletin, the Reserve Board merely reiterated what it had said on repeated occasions since last autumn. But the selection of this moment for so positive a statement of its actual opinion had more significance. Two questions, from the very start, have surrounded discussion of war between the United States and Germany. They were, whether, in such a case, our markets would continue to lend to the Allies, and whether our manufacturers would continue to ship munitions of war or material for making such munitions.

The element of uncertainty arose from doubt as to whether our manufacturing resources might not conceivably be so far commandeered by the Government at Washington as to exclude such export shipments, and as to whether our capital resources might not similarly be reserved for our own Government's borrowings. The Federal Reserve Board's statement of Thursday, timed as it was and asserting so unqualifiedly the economic wisdom of continuing to purchase sound securities of European governments, is an important contribution to that discussion.

Our manufacturers seem to be under no illusions regarding their proper policy. Of finished war munitions, we shall have to send very little to Europe after existing and unfilled contracts have been carried out. This is by choice of the English and French Governments themselves, which are placing few future orders here, because their own munitions factories are now in shape to provide the necessary output. The American plant for turning out actual war material would, therefore, be at the disposal of our Government. But for our steel, copper, and other essential metals, for use in further manufacture, there will still be need in Western Europe. As to these, the manufacturers rightly hold that if, in case of preparations for war on our own part, the combined requirements of our own and

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the Allied Governments should be very large, then ordinary commercial requirements would have to await their turn.

The matter of capital subscriptions is in some ways different; it depends both on the total available supply and on the disposition of investors. It will also necessarily be influenced by the capacity for providing capital, judged by the most careful and prudent policy. As to this, however, it will be observed that, despite the wholly unprecedented amount of capital already placed by our markets in European loans, the pressure of investment money on our market has scarcely been relaxed. That results partly from the country's great prosperity since 1914, partly from the immense available sums which have come to this country from the outside world, and largely from the fact that the $2,000,000,000 or thereabouts, already advanced on loans to Europe since the war began, has not been sent out of the country (as it was in the much smaller foreign war loans of 1900 and 1904), but has been utilized for purchases in the United States. It has automatically redistributed itself to American manufacture and labor.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK

MISCELLANEOUS

Thwing, C. F. Education. New York: Platt & Peck Co. $2 net.
Thwing, C. F. The Training of Men for the World's Future. New York: Platt & Peck Co. $1.25 net.
Wyatt, E. F. Great Companions. Appleton. $1.50 net.

GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMICS

Fillebrown, C. B. The Principles of Natural Taxation. McClurg. $1.50.
Reports of the American Bar Association. Vol. XLI. 1916.
Weyl, W. E. American World Policies. Macmillan. $2.25 net.

BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

Burr, A. R. Russell H. Conwell and His Work. Authorized edition. Philadelphia: Winston. $1.35 net.
Corbett, J. S. England in the Mediterranean. Vols. I and II. Longmans, Green. $5 net.
Stacpoole, H. de V. François Villon, His Life and Times. Putnam. $2 net.
Wells, H. G. Italy, France, and Britain at War. Macmillan. $1.50 net.

TRAVEL

Curran, W. T., and Calkins, H. A. In Canada's Wonderful Northland. Putnam. $2.50 net.

POETRY

Burkhard, O. German Poems. Holt. 40 cents.
MacMillan, M. The Little Golden Fountain. Cincinnati: Stewart & Kidd Co.

SCIENCE

Buck, A. H. The Growth of Medicine from the Earliest Times to About 1800. Yale University Press. $5 net.
Chapin, C. V. How to Avoid Infection. Harvard University Press.
Fryer, J. E. The Mary Francis First Aid Book. Philadelphia: Winston. $1 net.
McFarland, Joseph. Biology. Third edition. Philadelphia: Saunders. $1.75 net.
Oliver, T. Occupations from the Social, Hygienic, and Medical Points of View. Cambridge University Press.
Towers, W. K. Masters of Space. Harper. $1.25 net.

DRAMA AND MUSIC

Krehbiel, H. E. A Second Book of Operas. Macmillan. $2 net.
Thomas, E. S. Scientific Singing. San Francisco: Paul Elder.

ART

Mace, A. C., and Winlock, H. E. The Tomb of Senebtisi. Egyptian Expedition Publications. Volume I. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Thomas Jefferson—Architect. Original Designs in the Collection of Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, Junior, with an Essay and Notes by Fiske Kimball. Privately printed.

TEXTBOOKS

Prokosch, E. First German Lessons in Phonetic Spelling. Holt.
Scott, W. B. The Theory of Evolution. Macmillan. $1.
Southern Life in Southern Literature. Edited by M. G. Fulton. Ginn. 80 cents.

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Brann: The Iconoclast. 2 vols. Complete; My price, $2.25.
History of the World, 3 vols. $12.00; My price, $2.95.
Memory: How to Develop. 35c.
Century Book of Health. $5.50; My price, $1.50.
New Americanized Encyclopedia, 15 vols., 3-4 Leather. Publisher's price, $75.00. My price, $14.75.
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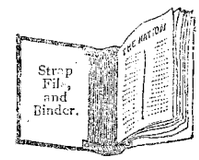

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Summary of the News

DOUBT as to the immediate course which the President would set for the country, after the failure of the Senate to grant the powers for which he had asked, was put to rest on Saturday of last week, when the morning papers published President Wilson's proclamation calling an extra session of Congress to meet on April 16. At the same time a statement was issued from the White House announcing the President's conviction that he had the power to arm American merchant ships and was free to exercise it at once. Presumably, therefore, ships are at the moment of writing in process of being armed, formal notice to that effect having been sent to foreign embassies and legations on Monday. Details of these operations, as well as of the sailings of vessels, are, however, suppressed by censorship of the press, self-imposed by request of Secretary Daniels.

THE call of Congress and the announcement as to the arming of ships followed immediately on the adoption by the Senate of a rule limiting debate. Aroused by its impotency to prevent a handful of "wilful men" from paralyzing action at the close of the Sixty-fourth Congress, the new Senate last week took drastic measures to limit its own loquacity, with the result that after only six hours' discussion it passed by a vote of 76 to 3 a measure of cloture that has been unsuccessfully urged any time during the last hundred years. The new rule provides for application of the cloture by a two-thirds vote, debate on the bill after that being limited to an hour for each Senator, vote on the cloture to be taken without debate after notice in writing by sixteen Senators.

REFORM of the Senate's antiquated procedure is thus one good result of the action of the wilful ones, though all unforeseen by them. Another, equally unforeseen, if one may judge from the rush to cover participated in by most of the twelve, is the alignment of the country more solidly than ever behind the President in his refusal to submit to dictation from Berlin. Press condemnation of the recalcitrant Senators was almost universal, and this was echoed in resolutions introduced in numerous State Legislatures. That not all of these resolutions were passed was probably due, not to any endorsement of the Senators' actions, but to unwillingness to put public affront upon "favorite sons." The temper of the country was clearly revealed in a widespread demand for Senator Stone's resignation of the chairmanship of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate, a demand which that gentleman has apparently little mind to heed. The popularity of the obstructionist leaders was not increased by the *Frankfurter Zeitung's* cordial allusion to Senators Stone and La Follette as "fine Americans who remained uncontaminated by Wilson's blind devotion to England."

AUSTRIA'S reply to the American memorandum inquiring her attitude towards the submarine warfare was received on March 6. It is a long, rambling, discursive document, deliberately so, to epitomize which would require more space than is at our disposal. The gist of the matter appears to be that Austria is exceedingly anxious to avoid a break with the United States, but at the same time is bound to endorse the policy of her powerful ally. It is hardly likely that the Austrian interpretation of "due warning" as a blanket notice of intent to sink all ships within a given zone will appeal to the State Department as a *plausible argument.*

WE have space only to allude briefly to various German intrigues on American soil which have been unearthed or suspected during the past week. Reports of conspiracies or violations of neutrality run the gamut from the discovery of a plot to foment rebellion in India to a secret installation of wireless on the Appam and charges of conspiracy against German sailors on interned ships.

DETENTION of four American Consuls still held in Germany was ostensibly explained in dispatches from Washington of March 8. These Consuls have been transferred by the State Department to Turkey, and the Ottoman Government has taken advantage of the situation to propose for them a new form of exequatur which would involve the abrogation of the "capitulations." The proposal has been refused by the United States, and the detention of the Consuls is explained as being due to Germany's reluctance to embarrass her ally. Fifty-nine Yarrowdale prisoners crossed the frontier into Switzerland on Monday.

MR. GERARD and his party reached Havana on Sunday, on the Spanish steamship Infanta Isabel. Dispatches from correspondents who accompanied him, published in Monday's papers, throw a clearer light than has heretofore been possible upon conditions in Germany. In essentials, however, they only confirm the general impression conveyed by news from Allied sources: Germany, though not actually starving, is exceedingly hungry; the people received a new unity through the rejection of Germany's offer of peace and the publication of the Allies' terms; this unity was cemented by the declaration of ruthless submarine warfare, which has unanimous support and is confidently expected to end the war within a few months; if it fails, reaction may be expected; finally, America's entry into the war, though not desired, is expected and discounted, her military potentiality being regarded with contempt.

PROGRESS of the submarine campaign is difficult to estimate as losses are no longer recorded daily by the Allies and the British weekly list gives numbers only without tonnage, a practice which appears to us unwise. Berlin reports, for obvious reasons, are comparatively worthless. The British statement for the week ending March 4 said that 23 British merchant vessels were sunk by mines or submarines, of which 14 were of 1,600 tons gross or more, and 9 were of less than 1,600 tons. In the same period the number of merchant vessels of all nationalities of more than 100 tons arriving at British ports was 2,528 and the number sailing 2,477. The torpedoing of a Belgian relief ship, of Norwegian nationality, sailing under safe conduct, was recorded in dispatches from Cork on Sunday.

A UNANIMOUS opinion of the Supreme Court on March 6 awarded to the English owners the liner Appam and her cargo, brought into Hampton Roads by the German raider Möwe.

MILITARY operations on all other fronts are thrown into the shade by the capture of Bagdad, on Sunday, by the British force under Gen. Maude. Two-thirds of the Turkish artillery fell into the hands of the British or was thrown into the Tigris.

INSURRECTION in Cuba was virtually brought to an end with the capture by Government forces on March 7 of General Gomez, his entire staff, and more than 200 other rebels. Gomez and the leaders of the insurrection will be tried for treason. A general amnesty is offered to the rank and file who lay down their arms.

PRESIDENTIAL and Congressional elections were held in Mexico on Sunday, according to press dispatches, in a fair and orderly manner. Figures are not available as we write, but there seems to be no doubt that Carranza has been elected President by an overwhelming vote.

WE comment editorially upon the welcome announcement from Washington of the President's decision to put all postmasters of the first, second, and third classes under the civil service. This most desirable reform is made by executive order and becomes effective on April 1. On the other hand, we regret to note that the President has renominated Dr. Cary T. Grayson as medical director in the navy, with rank of Rear Admiral.

CONSPIRATORS in the plot to murder Premier Lloyd George and Mr. Arthur Henderson were, with one exception, found guilty on March 10. Mrs. Wheeldon was sentenced to ten years' penal servitude; her son-in-law, Mason, to seven years, and her daughter, Mrs. Mason, to five years. Another daughter, Miss Wheeldon, was acquitted.

THE report of the special commission investigating the Dardanelles campaign, presided over by the late Lord Cromer, was published on March 8. The report, which is the subject of editorial comment, distributes blame for the fiasco among a number of persons, chief among them Mr. Winston Churchill, Lord Kitchener, and members of the existing War Council.

HOME RULE reappeared in the British Parliament like a nemesis on March 7, when the Irish Nationalists introduced a resolution calling for the immediate application of the Home Rule statute. A bitter discussion ensued, in the course of which Mr. Lloyd George made it clear that the Government would not be a party to the coercion of Ulster, but offered partial Home Rule and suggested a conference of Irishmen or an inquiry by commission. Mr. Asquith made the interesting proposal that the issue should be submitted for arbitration to some impartial authority such as statesmen of the Dominions now in London to attend the Imperial Conference. Mr. Redmond, rejecting any proposal less than the letter of the bond, dramatically led his followers from the House. A statement subsequently issued announced that the Nationalist party, though in sympathy with the war, and approving the cause of the Allies, would henceforward oppose the Government by every means in its power.

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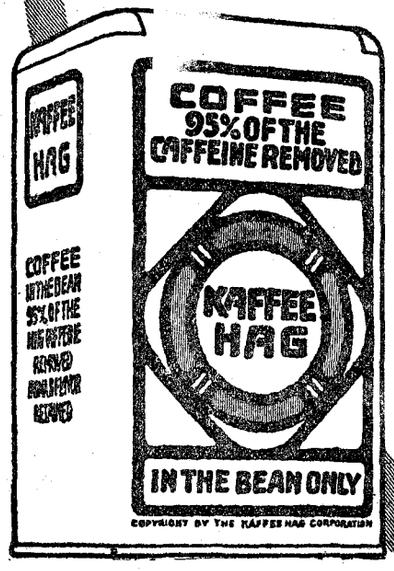

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